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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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25 August 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CONTINUED GDR-USSR MILITARY COOPERATION PLEDGED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 25, 1983 (signed to press 6 Jun 83) p 3

[Article by Lt Gen Horst Bruenner, deputy chief, Political Main Administration of the NVA for Organizational-Political Work, and candidate of the SED Central Committee: "The Friendship With the Soviet Union is for us a Matter of Central Importance; Our Contribution Toward Fulfilling the Resolutions of the 12th Congress of the Society of German-Soviet Friendship"]

[Text] At a time when the citizens of the GDR and their soldiers in the Karl Marx Year of 1983 are making a great effort to carry out the resolutions of the Tenth SED Party Congress, the 12th Congress of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship was held in Berlin, the capital of the GDR, on 12 and 13 May 1983. It was felt at the successful congress that this mass organization has become even stronger in political-ideological and organizational terms in the GDR and that its effectiveness among the masses has grown further. In the welcoming address from the SED Central Committee to the Congress it was stated that the Society for German-Soviet Friendship effectively contributed to "recruiting citizens of all classes and strata, all ideologies and faiths as active and conscious fighters for friendship with the Soviet Union."

This friendship society also includes thousands of members of the NVA [National People's Army] and the Border Forces of the GDR, as well as civilian employees. Together with the other members from all population strata of our socialist fatherland, they expressed the idea that friendship with the Soviet Union is something that is very close to our hearts. Friendship with the Soviet Union is one of the most valuable but at the same time also most highly demanding lessons to be learned from the history of our people.

Founded by the activists of the first hour during the days of May 1945, grown by virtue of the solid fighting association of the SED with the CPSU, it developed, along with the rise of the worker-and-peasant state in our country into that friendly and brotherly bond with the land of Lenin which today moves millions of individuals and grips their hearts.

One of Our Greatest Achievements

The Tenth SED Party Congress was able to note that collaboration with the Soviet Union and the brother countries progressed quickly and the indestructible brotherhood with the Soviet Union is and remains for our people the steady

foundation of its security and its successes in shaping the developed socialist society. It is a mighty guarantee for the accomplishment of the tasks during the 1980's in all fields of community life, including the growing requirements for socialist national defense.

The official friendship visit by a GDR party and government delegation, headed by SED Central Committee Secretary-General and GDR State Council Chairman Erich Honecker, to the USSR, which ushered in a new stage in the development of our brotherly relations, once again made it perfectly clear that friendship with the world's first socialist country is one of the greatest achievements of our people.

In just a few weeks, 60 years will have passed since the founding of the "Society of the Friends of the New Russia" in what at that time was imperialist Germany. The German communists but also other progressively-thinking and realistically acting patriots even then saw in friendship with the Soviet Union, in spreading the truth about the world's first socialist state, a decisive way to create a life of peace and happiness free of capitalist exploitation for the individual. Again and again it was Comrade Ernst Thaelmann who, as the glowing friend of the Soviet Union, spoke out and strongly urged the German working class to adopt friendship with the country of the Red October, who considered relations with the Soviet Union as the decisive touchstone as to which side of the barricade a person was on. In fascist prisons, he wrote the stirring words to the effect that, in all the world, there is only one country where there are neither phenomena of decay, nor of unemployment, nor of crisis--and that country is the socialist Soviet Union.

USSR Can Cope with Any Challenge

How timely these statements still are! In view of the profound internal crisis phenomena in the imperialist world, with all of those weakness which Ernst Thaelmann had in mind, along with the threatening danger of war, armaments consuming billions, and massive anti-Soviet campaigns and slander, it seems that history is being repeated. But today, socialism, peace, and progress throughout have entirely different potentials available to them.

Today, the USSR looks like a country which is in the midst of the 11th Five-Year Plan of its socialist construction, a country in which industrial output doubled between 1970 and 1980, a country with top-level achievements worldwide and in outer space, with the longest space flight and the "construction sites of the century," such as the BAM [Baikal-Amur Trunk Line] or the unique Urengoi-Uzhgorod export gas pipeline. But it was also the USSR which, since 1945, submitted more than 140 realistic disarmament proposals which were ready for implementation. For the Soviet Union, the fight to secure peace is the highest reason of state. It does everything to allow the implementation of the first right of man, the right to live in peace, to become reality for all people.

This was borne out by the peace program of the 26th CPSU Congress, just like the significant proposal of the USSR regarding disarmament in Europe, which CPSU Central Committee Secretary-General Yuriy Andropov submitted on 3 May

1983 in Moscow during the brotherly reception for the GDR party and government delegation. This is also witnessed by the efforts aimed at the reliable military protection of socialism which increasingly turn out to be peace-preserving factors.

Unparalleled Struggle for World Peace

The Soviet Union's struggle for world peace is indeed without example. A straight line runs from the October Revolution, from the "Decree on Peace," all the way to the proposals on the limitation and reduction of strategic arms, as well as medium-range and all nuclear weapons in Europe. All of this was heavily emphasized at the 12th Congress of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship.

After all, the important issue here is, on the firm basis of collaboration between our parties and peoples, ever better to attain the lofty objectives in the course of the socialist and communist buildup of our countries and, in view of the worrisome threat to peace from the most aggressive forces of imperialism, constantly more closely to develop the honorable alliance for the reliable protection of our peaceful life.

The Society for German-Soviet Friendship will devote special attention to the propagation and dissemination of the best Soviet experiences from industry and agriculture, science and culture, in order thus directly to contribute to the implementation of the economic strategy of the Tenth SED Congress. It will consider it to be its national and international duty convincingly to popularize the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist states and offensively to counter all phenomena of anticomunism and anti-Sovietism.

Arms Comradeship Growing Stronger

For us, those of us who had the honor at the congress to represent our National People's Army, it was particularly impressive to see with what love, respect, and human warmth the delegates reported about their friendship work with our Soviet comrades-in-arms and their families.

It was inspiring to hear the pledge of all conference participants regarding the act of liberation by the Soviet people and its army and the foundations which were thus created for the origin and development of worker-and-peasant state.

Great appreciation was also expressed for the constantly growing arms comradeship between the NVA, the Border Forces of the GDR, as well as the agencies of law and order, on the one hand, and the Soviet Armed Forces on GDR soil, on the other hand. It reflects an atmosphere of profound confidence, of communist respect and cordiality in the course of brotherly military collaboration and its roots in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

This also emerged clearly during the rousing meeting of the GDR party and government leadership with units of the Soviet Army on 19 May 1983. SED Central

Committee Secretary General, GDR State Council Chairman, and National Defense Council Chairman, Comrade Erich Honecker on that occasion assured the Soviet soldiers who, far from their homeland, are performing their responsible service on the soil of the GDR, that we are doing everything in order further to consolidate the bonds of the workers, the cooperative farms, all working people and especially the younger generation with the Soviet comrades-in-arms.

The welcoming address by the SED Central Committee to the 12th Congress also paid tribute to the contribution made by the Friendship Society to the further development of arms-comradeship relations. The following assurance was given before the Congress forum in view of this seasons tradition: In our capacity as the Society for German-Soviet Friendship we will do everything in order always to make our contribution to the further strengthening of arms comradeship! This is also expressed by the very recent and repeated awards of the society's banners of honor to units of the Soviet Army, the NVA, and the Border Forces of the GDR.

It is furthermore a strong indication of the great personal responsibility and the profound care for the defense of peace. The 12th Congress considered it necessary to direct all members actively to work so as to guarantee a proper level of socialist national defense.

The following principle continues to apply to NVA personnel and to the Border Forces of the GDR: To learn from the Soviet Army means to learn how to win!

For us, arms comradeship with the Soviet Union is a political pledge. At all times it demands specific action so that it may take effect as a powerful force, as a factor of high combat readiness, as a guarantor for reliable military peace preservation. We leave no doubt about that through our unshakeable internationalist attitude toward our Soviet class comrades and the harmony of our hearts: This fighting alliance is indestructible; it will always withstand any trial that history may present us with and it will be an insurmountable barrier for any aggressor.

Active Collaboration in Friendship Society

We know very well that we can accomplish the class mission assigned to us by the Tenth Party Congress only shoulder to shoulder with our arms comrades. This is why it is more than ever before important to make sure that the thinking and action of NVA personnel will be guided toward all-around consolidation of arms comradeship. In the Society for German-Soviet Friendship we have loyal and active allies because, here, after all, as in many other sectors of our community life, decisive foundations are being laid for profound and cordial friendship with the land of Lenin. It is therefore more than just an expression of the understanding of the political significance of the action of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship when career personnel of the NVA and of the Border Forces of the GDR--as well as their dependents starting with the age of 14--are members of this organization and to a by no means minor extent do part-time work in it.

This active collaboration takes place in the basic units which are being formed "in enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, and installations as well as in

urban and rural residential areas" according to the new charter adopted by the 12th Congress.

Close collaboration with the Society's leadership bodies has proved to be effective in all locations when it comes to the joint execution of arms comradeship with the involvement of the population. The utilization of the political materials and the houses of the German-Soviet Friendship Society as well as the friendship clubs for political-ideological work in the military units and duty stations, as well as the support of the Society's political-ideological effort through personnel of the NVA and the Border Forces of the GDR have turned out to be very effective.

Many of the draftees and extended-service personnel who join us each year are members of the Friendship Society. During their term of military service, these comrades continue to be members of their enterprise or residential area organization. As conscious friends of the Soviet Union they also use many possibilities of increasing their knowledge about the land of Lenin during their time in the army and they try personally to experience arms comradeship through participation in political and military activities. In this way, we will--each at his assigned station--contribute to the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th Congress of the Society for German-Soviet Friendship, even more strongly to forge the unalterable friendship and the class and arms alliance, the fighting community with the Soviet people, and actively to participate in the further approach of the peoples of the GDR and the USSR.

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CSO: 2300/355

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

KAPEK COMMENTS ON HIS PLENUM SPEECH

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech No 27, 6 Jul 83 p 3

[Interview with Antonin Kapek, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member, leading secretary of Prague Municipal CPCZ Committee, by Jaroslav Kojzar following speech at Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Comrade Antonin Kapek, a member of its Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague Municipal CPCZ Committee, spoke at the Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum.

Several of the thoughts emphasized in his speech were of interest to us. So we requested answers from Comrade Kapek to the following questions.

[Question] So, first of all, why place so much emphasis on Research and Development [R&D] progress right at this time?

[Answer] Because R&D progress is the key issue for our further development. Progress in developing a mature socialist society in the CSSR would, you see, not be possible at all without new, high-quality production forces. We must, however, be aware, and the speech made by Comrade Jakes at the plenum confirms this, that the development and mastery of new R&D findings to their full extent is not feasible, given the resources available to individual countries, without international cooperation and joint efforts of the socialist states which are members of the CEMA.

[Question] The report transmitted by the Presidium concerning the practical implementation of R&D findings states that the current approach is inadequate and slow. In other words, research and the development that follows from it does not always meet its targets at the requisite level of sophistication, with the required focus, or in the required time frame. Why is this, and what may be done to change the situation?

[Answer] The answer has, understandably, both its political and professional economic aspects. It is my opinion that this latter area should have been worked out by the appropriate state organs, and that it is to be regretted that they have not yet done so. I cannot, therefore, give you an exhaustive

answer. I can offer, however, some of the thoughts that were expressed at recent sessions of Prague communists. Above all, I must say that the logic of the matter itself and the experiences from our own managerial work indicate without a doubt that it will be necessary to deepen still further the path upon which we have embarked of linking R&D with production, and to seek new, more efficient and organic forms of this linkage. The lines from the user-customer to production and from production back to research and the reverse must not be interrupted by anything. At all levels of management, therefore, we are trying to motivate all work collectives toward painstaking, rational and creative research and implementational work. To achieve these goals it is essential to provide at all VHJ [Economic Production Units] and enterprises the appropriate organizational ties between research, production and marketing. It is no accident that I mention affairs of the enterprise economic sphere, because it is here that the crucial struggle is being played out for the development and practical implementation of R&D findings. At the same time, it is from here that the greatest number of research orders should be generated.

[Question] Why, in your opinion, does there not exist at VHJ and enterprises a quite natural thirst for the application of new findings in production, and why do the research institutes not attempt to solve, with the application of all their creative forces, the real issues of current and future practice?

[Answer] Our socialist social ownership of critical production resources creates the most favorable objective conditions for a rational solution to this problem. What we have not resolved well in practice, however, are questions connected with an efficient economic mechanism for management, planning, financing, compensation for these processes, and the organization of the material and technical base. We are lacking, on the one hand, an organizational link between research, production and marketing, as well as the small enterprises essential for the testing of higher order innovations and, finally, also rationalization workshops at enterprises, especially at VHJ. In other words, we have good political guidelines, appropriate to the times, which have been set down by congress resolutions. But we have not been successful in integrating these into an efficient system of economic incentives and realistic interests, nor with the requisite structure provided by an economic base. We must say that, in this area, the statement of Comrade Yuriy Andropov in his article "The Teachings of Karl Marx and Several Questions of the Building of Socialism in the USSR" unfortunately applies to us. In this article, he cites the admonition of Marx and Engels that ideas have always been discredited the moment they have come to be different from interests. For this reason, the political directive which we handed down from the Eighth Plenum to the appropriate state organs, to the effect that they were to bring our political objectives into line with the interests of work collectives in research, production and in marketing by improving the economic mechanisms of management, planning, financing and compensation and the gradual resolution of questions of an organizational nature, was completely appropriate.

[Question] What may be said about higher order innovational and rationalization procedures?

[Answer] Experiences from several industrially mature countries indicate that it is primarily the small enterprises that play an exceptionally important role in innovational processes. Large enterprises, after all, to engage in innovational activities must build an extensive and complex production apparatus requiring significant costs and resources, meaning that the risk of failure carries with it substantial losses. For these reasons, large enterprises integrate into their production programs for the most part tested and proven new ideas. Small enterprises do not have the same costs and difficulties with the setting up of a production apparatus and production program, and therefore have much less risk. They are becoming the bearers of innovational processes and rapidly implement R&D findings, come to the market with new or modernized products and services and thereby make other producers nervous, opening the path to the incorporation of innovations at the mass production level.

[Question] Can R&D be managed administratively, as has unfortunately been the case in some sectors in the past?

[Answer] No way. If we wish to bring our political objectives into line with real interests, then we must rid ourselves once and for all of the illusion that by issuing decrees, specifying all kinds of indicators, monitoring the number of hours spent on research and the like we will be able to achieve substantial breakthroughs. It can happen that we sometimes waver concerning the introduction of management and planning by objective and the related system of economic incentives in some sectors or branches of our national economy. In the R&D sector, there can be no such wavering. This type of management simply must become obvious and absolutely essential. R&D after all is R&D because the result is not known beforehand, and therefore cannot be managed in terms of the usual resources utilized for the production of nuts and bolts. For R&D work we must use planning, management and finance to create the most favorable possible conditions so that R&D employees can arrive at the results of their research in the shortest possible time, and to assure that if these results have a practical application and have the projected impact, an economic incentive will be available to the R&D employees.

The resource management of research organizations must be according to the principles of full khozraschet, and the project management of these organizations must follow the above guidelines if there is to be an improvement in the performance of our R&D base.

[Question] At the plenum, you called particular attention to the necessity for taking all necessary measures to increase the political prestige of the bearers and implementors of R&D progress. Why?

[Answer] Because it is right here that I see a revolutionary aspect in our political work. What do I mean by this? I mean that we must seek out, support and praise creative employees and create the most favorable possible conditions for their activity in research, in production, as well as in marketing or administration of the related economic and political processes. Creative work generates spiritual values, spiritual wealth which we have on many occasions taken too little account of, and to the development of which we devote too little attention. We need, however, to incorporate a much greater number of

ideas, new suggestions into our products and services.... It happens that we sometimes discuss the boundaries between spiritual and physical work. This, however, is an improper approach, because we are well aware that we require both kinds of work. Rather, we ought to fight for an expansion of the sphere of creative work, both spiritual and physical, and gradually suppress mechanical, stereotypical and repetitive activities. And here again there is an open field for the influence of ideas and creative thinking. It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that formalism, indifference and satisfaction with the status quo are all the enemies of creative work, which alone will make it possible for us to achieve innovations in our procedures, our products and our managerial techniques. Only creative work enables us to recognize what needs to be changed, what must be rationalized and how to go about this, where and in what way to root out inappropriate procedures. Unfortunately, there are enough of the formalistic, indifferent types in managerial positions in the sciences. And they have titles, as well as confirmed qualifications. But what good are these, if these people show no or only minimal results? In this regard, we will have to consider beginning to assess relative shares. This is why I think that it will be necessary to devote more attention than previously to the matter of assuring that the most committed individuals, those with the best track record, those who have given all of their abilities to the service of socialism in our homeland, receive evaluations that are commensurate with their work. It is essential to create for them favorable conditions for their research, that they not be bothered with unnecessary activities which often clearly have no significance for them personally.

[Question] And what about the role of work collectives?

[Answer] Creative work is currently and will continue to develop within work collectives. The creation of good conditions for these collectives means seeing to the political aspects of assuring that the working climate within the collectives is positive and fosters initiative. After all, it is the work collectives, both in the area of research and in the sectors implementing research results, that constitute the basic organizational entity where the struggle for the practical application of R&D results will be played out. Therefore, we will continue to emphasize the necessity for, and concern ourselves with the theoretical aspects of, increasing the role of work collectives in the practical application of R&D findings. To put it bluntly, in research and the application of research we need collectives made up of workers who are capable of doing something new, and we do not need those who spend most of their working hours trying to explain why it is so difficult in their particular field to think of something new.

[Question] What must we do to meet these objectives?

[Answer] The Eighth CPCZ Central Committee Plenum provided an exhaustive answer, to which nothing need be added. I would, therefore, rather call attention to a number of its thoughts that should be the subject of immediate discussion in party organizations. Above all, we must be able to explain to everyone, but particularly to the professional and managerial intelligentsia,

that the active and fruitful development and practical mastery of the results of R&D work is an essential precondition for our future development. In this regard I would particularly emphasize the role of basic party organizations. If we succeed in convincing the committed party functionaries of the necessity for creating a positive political climate for the creative activity of the technicomanagerial intelligentsia in this area, we can achieve to be sure a gradual, but nevertheless an ongoing turnaround in our attitude toward R&D. Party administration, and especially ideological and mass oriented political work, should be directed toward the generation of a natural desire for the mastery and utilization of R&D findings. We must win over a majority of the working class and other employees to this view, as it is a necessary political precondition for additional rapid growth in labor productivity which, as is well known, according to Lenin was the critical factor in our final victory over capitalism. Without the mastery of new technology, further qualitative growth in labor productivity, and the related resolution of social problems, an increasing standard of living will not be possible. Nor should the significant international political importance of R&D be forgotten, because the practical mastery of R&D findings multiplies the force of our policies, including even our struggles for peace, democracy and progress.... Put plainly, the objective of our political work in this area is to generate and focus in the politically correct directions what I would describe as a mass march for the development and mastery of everything that will upgrade the technical and economic sophistication of our industry, our production, of everything around us.

[Interviewer] Thank you for your responses.

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CSO: 2400/366

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REPORT ON CONFERENCES MENTIONS UNPUBLICIZED CPCZ PRESIDIUM 'LETTER'

Prague ZIVOT STRANY in Czech No 12, Jun 83 pp 10-12

[Unsigned article: "Fruitful Discussions"]

[Text] Regional and municipal party conferences have completed significant discussions of communists between the 16th and 17th CPCZ congresses. These deliberations of more than 1.5 million members and candidates at annual membership meetings, general plenary meetings, factory, enterprise, local, district, and kraj party conferences, conducted in harmony with the resolution of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium held in September of last year and of the Seventh Plenum of the party Central Committee, have evaluated the results of the program fulfillment of the 16th CPCZ Congress in all areas of the life of the society. In the adopted resolutions, they have determined the specific tasks designed to provide for the party line in 1983 and in the remaining years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan, and by electing new organs they have created cadres required for its consistent implementation.

The annual party discussions were conducted in an atmosphere of mobilization of the party, of all communists and other working people, for the fulfillment of the difficult tasks of the party's economic and social program. They have demonstrated unequivocal support of the entire party line of the 16th Congress, its orientation in terms of efficiency and quality, consistent transition to an intensive way of development, and determination to implement it consistently. They helped to strengthen the ideological, organizational, and action unity and closeness of the ranks of party organizations. They were characterized by their working nature, critical consideration of the past period, by efforts to obtain a complex solution of rather difficult political, ideological and economic tasks. The results of the discussions also document the further increase of the level and effectiveness of party work, particularly in the party's basic organizations.

One can evaluate positively the fact that the activity and initiative of party organs and organizations, party members and candidates during the preparatory period and in the course of annual party discussions, were also transferred successfully to working collectives. This had a substantial effect on the fulfillment of the tasks in 1982 and created favorable conditions for their successful implementation even in 1983 and in the subsequent years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan. The development of initiative at work, the movement of

assuming obligations in honor of the 35th anniversary of the Victorious February, special shifts in factories, in communities and cities in honor of the party's annual discussions show that its policy has the support of the broad masses, that its leading role in the society is being intensified and consolidated.

Communists expressed during their annual discussions their full support of our party's foreign policy, of the consolidation of friendship and alliance with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. They have condemned the efforts of the most reactionary circles of imperialism to escalate the arms race and to disturb the military strategic balance. At the same time, they also appreciated the initiative of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries to preserve world peace, and they expressed their support of the results of the sessions of the Political Advisory Committee of the Warsaw Pact Member States held in Prague.

The annual meetings of communists centered their attention mainly on questions of implementation of the party's socioeconomic program and, in harmony with the conclusions of the Seventh Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee, on consistent enforcement of intensive economic development, especially in industrial and agricultural enterprises. They indicated the ways of implementing consistently, under rather complex conditions, the strategic line of the 16th Congress, a line of high efficiency and quality of all work. They kept evaluating the tasks of the party's economic policy in relation to the process of improving the quality of the activities of party organs, organizations, and individual communists.

What constituted a characteristic feature of the annual membership meetings of the party's basic organizations as compared to the past, was a more complex process of discussing the tasks of the party's economic policy, a search for ways to enforce these goals and programs in practice and to win over the broad masses of the working people in favor of their implementation. Orientation to the use of our own reserves was a positive aspect of these efforts.

The conclusions of the party's annual discussions tended to bring about a further increase of efficiency and quality of all work, utilization of fixed assets, work hours, strengthening of discipline and order at all workplaces, complex and balanced fulfillment of the plan, growth of labor productivity, increase of the number of shifts, of the quality and innovation of products, implementation of export tasks and fulfillment of marketing funds.

In spite of the overall positive results of annual membership meetings, some basic organizations, particularly the small ones, failed to assume a sufficiently critical attitude in watching the results obtained. They limited themselves to a superficial evaluation of the work, and consequently they did not work out specific provisions for a continuation of the process. This was reflected in the fact that the resolutions which have been adopted were rather general and not obligatory enough.

Questions of a more consistent application of findings of research and development [R&D] in practice did not remain unattended, either. It turned out at

the same time that the results obtained in this area vary considerably in individual enterprises and manufacturing establishments, and that preproduction units must play a greater role in this area. In spite of that, the conclusions adopted at annual membership meetings with regard to these important questions remained in many cases merely at a general level. District and kraj conferences adopted a more specific stand. They stressed the need for a more intensive correlation of R&D with economic plans of enterprises, and in this context they evaluated positively the movement of innovators and the activity of complex rationalization brigades. They showed in the form of a critique that an often formalistic way of dealing with these questions and sometimes even an obsolete way of thinking of economic managers are the reasons why R&D findings are introduced and applied slowly and robotization is introduced faster.

Annual membership meetings and party conferences have confirmed that consistent implementation of the Set of Measures is one of the basic conditions of intensification of our economy. They have openly pointed out that in many cases its practical application takes place slowly, does not correspond to the present needs and requirements, and is not implemented in a complex manner at individual workplaces in industry and agriculture. This level of problems was dealt with in control and organizational work of economic managers. One could hear especially at district and kraj conferences demands that these responsible managers should adapt faster the style of their work to the new instruments of economic management, that they should penetrate deeper into its problems and seek the best ways of dealing with them. Most of the discussions have confirmed that timely and consistent implementation of these tasks requires that managers systematically keep increasing the level of their work with the people.

The annual party discussions have confirmed again that if the economic tasks are to be dealt with successfully, it is necessary to systematically intensify all party work, strengthen the party's leading role, and consistently utilize the right of party organizations to conduct inspections. In spite of the existing differences, a shift can be seen clearly in the fact that basic organizations no longer limit themselves to checking on the fulfillment of the plan's indices, but they enforce more consistently the interests of the entire society, pay more attention to questions of efficiency, economy and application of the principles of the Set of Measures. They use the right of inspection to increase the demands with regard to managers, to increase the quality of organization and management. In this context, a positive evaluation has been made of the work of economic commissions, which are helping basic organizations and party organs to penetrate more deeply into economic problems and to formulate their own attitudes to them.

The annual membership meetings and party conferences have shown that the party organizations and the communists have understood the meaning and the seriousness of the economic transition to the intensive method of development. These deliberations concerning the results obtained have demonstrated the effectiveness of the unified procedure used by party organizations, economic management, and social organizations in the implementation of economic tasks. However, they have also shown that many basic organizations of the party do not adequately use all important instruments to provide for the economic tasks, such

as for example, personnel work, activation of trade union and youth organizations, political work among the masses, placement and exemplary activities of the communists.

The evaluation of ideological, political-educational work, and political work among the masses at annual membership meetings and party conferences was based on the need to substantially increase the quality and closer relationship with the solution of the main political and economic tasks. This was reflected in a more critical evaluation of its effectiveness. The level of evaluations naturally corresponded to the maturity and level of the work of basic organizations. Quantitative views of the results obtained were predominant, there was little evaluation of the effectiveness of this action, most of the basic organizations limited themselves to reaching only general conclusions for further ideological work.

District and kraj conferences in particular carried out a more comprehensive and more penetrating analysis of the level of ideological work. They have demonstrated that successful efforts have been made to convince the predominant majority of the working people that our economy has to switch to the road of intensification, that they understand more and more the strategic line of increasing production efficiency and quality of work. They have shown that close relationship between ideological work and economic policy and also political-organizational work of the party tends to overcome its general scope. They have stressed the need for intensification of education in terms of world outlook, especially in terms of education in scientific atheism, they paid more attention to the socialist way of life, struggle against petty-bourgeois and other hostile manifestations, against indifference, bribery, violations of socialist legality and morale. In this connection, they expressed their full agreement with the "Letter of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee to Party Organs and Organizations Designed to Intensify the Effectiveness of the Struggle Against Violations of Socialist Legality, Morals, and Discipline," and they also reacted to it in their resolutions.

In harmony with the resolution of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee of 17 September 1982, the annual party discussions also dealt with other areas of the society's life. They did not leave out of their considerations questions of the level of the work of central organs and other elements of management, the activities of communists in national committees, social organizations associated in the National Front, in education, science, culture, and arts.

The course of these discussions demonstrated the growth of planning, of conceptuality, and of the overall level of internal party life, which tends to strengthen and bring the party ranks closer together, to arm the communists for responsible handling of tasks and solving of problems. The Leninist principles and norms are applied more purposefully in party life, and the process continues in the area of improvement of methods, forms and style of work of party organs and organizations. However, there still continues to exist a considerable difference in the share of individual communists in the daily enforcement of party policy.

The annual membership meetings and party conferences paid great attention to improvements in the quality of membership in harmony with the resolution of the Third Plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. A positive phenomenon is the fact that these conclusions are beginning to be understood in a more complex manner, especially in basic organizations. However, no improvements have been made in terms of purposeful assignments of communists in working collectives and in key sectors.

The annual party discussions orient party organs and organizations to further improvements of the quality of the work with the cadres, to increased demands with regard to management workers, their discipline, attitude to principles and responsibility. They have shown that many shortcomings in the implementation of the tasks of the state plan are due to an inconsistent personnel policy and inadequately critical attitude in the process of complex evaluations. Work with cadre reserves continues to fail to be consistent. The reserves are often approved, but their political and professional training lags behind the requirements. The annual party deliberations have confirmed that party organs and especially basic organizations must keep looking for increasingly more effective means, forms and methods of increasing the activity and initiative of communists, they must deal more openly and more critically with all basic questions at membership meetings with the broadest participation of communists, they must strengthen the quality and the content level of party discussions. They must pay more attention to creating good, open, comradely relations in each basic organization, to making sure that communists are informed on time and regularly, that they are prepared for their work among the working people.

There is no question that the credit for strengthening the responsibility and attitude of the members to the party, for the growth of the party's authority and its influence among the masses, is also due to the fact that basic organizations are getting more purposeful and more differentiated assistance from the party's district and kraj committees.

On the basis of the findings made in the course of annual party discussions and obtained from evaluations of district and kraj committees, one can say that the annual membership meetings of basic organizations and party conferences have carried out their mission. They have become a significant event in the life of the party and of the entire society, they have created favorable conditions for the implementation of the plans in 1983 and in the remaining years of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

Naturally, the work is not done with the end of annual party discussions. On the contrary, there begins the period of struggle for implementation of the resolutions which have been adopted, and for participation of all party members and candidates in that effort. In basic organizations, it is mainly a question of completion of the solution of unsolved problems, adding to the resolutions the tasks which have ensued from discussions at the district and kraj conferences, and including them in the working plan.

Practice shows that most of the shortcomings turn out precisely in the work dealing with the resolutions, whether it is a matter of working them out and adopting specific measures designed to fulfill tasks, or a matter of orientation

of systematic political and organizational work of the committees of basic organizations. In this connection, one has to mention that there is no resolution which would solve important problems automatically, without winning the people in favor of removing those problems, without a great effort by those who have been entrusted with the task, without activity, initiative, communist inspiration and also without systematic control.

It is necessary to eliminate from the work of basic organizations the unhealthy practice, according to which right in the formulation of the resolution the responsibility for its implementation is attributed most often to committee members and economic management workers, and only to a lesser extent to party groups, communists in social organizations, individual party members and candidates at the given workplaces. This shows that efforts are still failing to include as many communists as possible in the implementation of the resolutions by giving them specific assignments. In larger basic organizations, in which party groups operate, it is purposeful to select a procedure in which these groups themselves would assign systematically specific tasks to its members.

One should also mention that the control of implementation of the resolutions cannot be merely a matter to be dealt with by committees of the organizations. Instead, control should also become a regular point of discussion of membership meetings. Experience shows that when there is no control, there thrives irresponsibility, indifference, and indolence, there forms a fertile ground for passivity, formalism and opportunism. Without purposeful control of implementation of the resolutions, one cannot improve the quality of cognitive activity and decisionmaking, intensify one's knowledge of qualifications, assets and shortcoming of the cadres, nor can one take steps against those who do not work well.

It is useful, and experience confirms it, if individual party members submit a report at the membership meeting about their activities, about the implementation of the tasks which have been assigned to them or functions which have been entrusted to them. Such a practice helps to activate members, to increase their responsibility before the party, and is an effective form of control. It has a preventive effect on the growth of activity of others and creates favorable conditions for the development of democracy within the party. At the same time, it is one way to overcome the passivity of some members.

5668

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED PRAISES FORMER PARTY LEADER ULRICHST AS 'GREAT STATESMAN'

West German Commentary

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 1 Jul 83 p 5

[Article signed 'Ws.' datelined Berlin, 30 June: "Walter Ulbricht Honored as Revolutionary and Statesman--90th Birthday Commemoration in East Berlin and Moscow--Belated Honoring After Many Years of Silence"]

[Text] The SED party journal NEUES DEUTSCHLAND last Thursday on the occasion of the 90th birthday of Walter Ulbricht, who died on 1 August 1973, published an extensive, first-page commemorative article on the founding father of the GDR written by Guenter Heyden, director of the Institute for Marxist-Leninism of the SED's Central Committee. Other East Berlin newspapers also recalled Ulbricht's 90th birthday. The theme of the testimonial was summed up in this way: "As a significant leader of the German working class, an exemplary proletarian revolutionary and internationalist as well as a statesman close to his own people, he will hold a lasting place in the history of our party and of the German Democratic Republic." Heyden characterized Ulbricht as a "steadfast fighter for the cause of socialism and peace" without fault or blemish. The founding of the SED as well as the creation and growth of the GDR in close association with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community were closely linked to Ulbricht's efforts.

In sketching Ulbricht's biography, Heyden did not forget to mention that Ulbricht, "in the fire of the revolutionary struggle" had been among the founders of the local chapter of the KPD in his birthplace of Leipzig only a few days after the founding of the national party in 1919. "From then on, the rest of his life was linked forever with the revolutionary party of the German working class. He became a professional revolutionary in Lenin's meaning of the word." In the struggles to shape the KPD into a revolutionary mass party, Ulbricht became a close comrade of Thaelmann and Pieck. Ulbricht was "largely responsible" for the establishment of the GDR, "which became a turning point in the history of our people."

After years of silence surrounding his name, during which time he had become almost an un-person, the Ulbricht renaissance began very tentatively on the fifth anniversary of his death and his 85th birthday in 1978. At that time, party and state leaders headed by Honecker and with Lotte Ulbricht in attendance, gathered at a memorial service at Ulbricht's gravesite and an unsigned testimonial article appeared in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND commemorating the man who, to this day has not had a single street or plaza named after him in the GDR.

The fact that Ulbricht has once again come into his own indicates that Honecker has succeeded in establishing his own position firmly and no longer needs to fear comparison--quite the contrary.

Praise for Erection of the Wall

The Soviet party journal PRAVDA last Thursday commemorated Ulbricht at length and with high praise. On the occasion of the 90th birthday of the former chairman of the SED, PRAVDA hailed the erection of the Berlin Wall as his personal achievement. Under Ulbricht's leadership, the GDR had chosen the path of socialism with peace as its goal and, in doing so, had encountered "the rabid resistance of the class enemy, mainly West German imperialism." As a result, the young state was forced to live "for a long time under complicated international circumstances." This called for great efforts on the part of the GDR itself and "above all from the Soviet Union." On 13 August 1961, measures were taken to assure its sovereignty.

Accolades by SED Academician

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 30 Jun p 1,2

[Article by Guenter Heyden, director, SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism: "Steadfast Fighter for the Cause of Socialism and Peace --On the 90th Birthday of Walter Ulbricht"]

[Text] Walter Ulbricht, outstanding leader of the German and the international workers movement, important statesman of our German Democratic Republic and the steadfast fighter in the cause of socialism and peace, would have been 90 years old this Thursday.

A child of the working class, Walter Ulbricht served the cause of socialism and peace faithfully and unstintingly for more than six and one-half decades with all his energies and capacities. The founding of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as well as the creation and growth of the German Democratic Republic in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community are all closely linked with the efforts of Walter Ulbricht.

In commemorating his achievements in this historical process, the Central Committee of the SED wrote in a letter to Walter Ulbricht in May 1971: "Despite the painful losses of such heroic leaders as our unforgettable Ernst Thaelmann, time-tested members of the Thaelmann central committee like Comrade Wilhelm Pieck and you, Comrade Walter Ulbricht, in the decades which followed, have succeeded in continuing and strengthening the Marxist-Leninist unity of our party leadership . . . The political stability and the progress of the German Democratic Republic along the paths of socialism have been and continue to be tightly linked with the Marxist-Leninist policy of the Central Committee of the SED, as whose first secretary you have gained lasting recognition."

On a Straight Course in the Spirit of Marx

So significant a socialist personality grows and proves itself in the struggle of the working class. Walter Ulbricht's efforts in the ranks of the workers movement had already begun during the time of imperial Germany. He experienced two World Wars and, during the time of the Weimar Republic, during the fascist dictatorship and after the liberation of our country from Hitlerite fascism, was always to be found where the fight was to be waged with determination and clear goals for a peaceful, anti-imperialistic and socialist Germany. His life, like that of many of his comrades in the struggle, embodied the continuity of the revolutionary German workers movement and its ascent to power.

Looking back from the perspective of decades of experience in the struggle, Walter Ulbricht once wrote concerning the difficult and demanding but still successful course of the evolution of socialism in our country: "The path of the German working class has been a long, hard and very complicated one . . . The struggle has taught us that the victory of socialism is certain if the party of the working class, if the workers, continue steadfastly along the path marked out by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels in the Communist Manifesto." The truth of this insight has been given renewed meaning in a most convincing way during 1983 on all continents of our globe on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx.

Walter Ulbricht was born on 30 June 1893 in Leipzig, a traditional center of the German workers movement, into a consciously working class family. The atmosphere in his home--both father and mother were members of the Social Democratic Party--was strongly marked by the victory achieved only a few years earlier over the reactionary anti-socialist laws of Bismarck. After completing 8 years of school Walter Ulbricht was trained as a cabinet maker. At the age of 15, he joined the socialist young workers movement. A year earlier, in 1907, his interest in sports led him into the ranks of the Leipzig workingmen's gymnastics club "Eiche."

While in the socialist workers youth movement, the intellectual world of scientific socialism opened itself up to him. Here he first began the study of the Manifesto of the Communist Party and other works of Marx and Engels, revealing to him the essence of capitalist society and strengthening his resolve to do everything in his power for the victory of socialism. He remained steadfastly loyal to this ideal of his youth until the end of his life. It was only logical that his path took him into the trade union movement and, in 1912, into the ranks of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

Within the Leipzig party organization, Walter Ulbricht belonged to the revolutionary forces raising their voices in warning against the advance of revisionism and centrism. When, in August 1914, the first imperialist World War broke out, the rightwing leadership of the Social Democratic Party made a complete about-face from the principles of proletarian internationalism, Walter Ulbricht followed the example set by Karl Liebknecht. In the ranks of the Liebknecht group in Leipzig and as a soldier at the front, he took his stand against the disastrous war policy of German imperialism and militarism. He was aware that the main enemy was to be found in his own country.

The October Revolution--A Turning Point

When, in 1917, the workers and peasants of Russia achieved their victory in the Great Socialist October Revolution, Walter Ulbricht, a class-conscious workers functionary, received the news of this world-shaking event with enthusiasm. He saw in it the decisive turning point which would bring about the age of transition from capitalism to socialism. He was to be guided by this perception the rest of his life. Throughout his entire political career he made substantial contributions to binding our party, the working class and the people of the German Democratic Republic in unshakeable friendship with the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

In the German November Revolution of 1918/19, Walter Ulbricht fought energetically and effectively in his home town of Leipzig as a member of a Soldiers' Council to translate into reality the slogan "All Power to the Councils!" In the fire of the revolution, he became one of the founders of the local organization of the KPD in Leipzig only a few days after the establishment of the parent KPD body. From this time on, the rest of his life was permanently linked to the revolutionary party of the German working class. He became a professional revolutionary as Lenin defined the term, with his every effort directed at enabling the working class to fulfill its historic mission.

In the struggle to develop the KPD as a revolutionary mass party, Walter Ulbricht was to become a close comrade of Ernst Thaelmann and Wilhelm Pieck. As a member of the Thaelmann central committee and as a Politburo candidate from 1927 and full member after 1929, he played a large role in developing the party's revolutionary fighting strength and in nurturing its roots in the masses, in educating tens of thousands of communists to be steadfast fighters against fascism and imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism. He gained particular recognition in the struggle to carry through the policy of the party laid down by Ernst Thaelmann to thwart the fascist dictatorship in Germany. As leader of the KPD regional organization Berlin-Brandenburg-Lausitz-Grenzmark from late 1929 until 1932, he was largely responsible for the KPD becoming the largest political party in Berlin.

After the creation of the fascist dictatorship in Germany in 1933, the KPD was faced with an especially severe test of its capacities. As the single organized force, it continued, despite the most brutal repression and persecution, its anti-fascist struggle from underground. Walter Ulbricht, together with other members of the KPD leadership, at first remained in Germany where he undertook the dangerous and arduous task, principally in Berlin, of reorganizing the party for continued activity in the underground. Relentlessly pursued by the Gestapo, he was obliged in October 1933, on orders of the party leadership, to go abroad in order to continue organizing the anti-fascist resistance struggle there.

Urgent Need for a United Front

The focus of the KPD's struggle against the fascist dictatorship was the effort to create a proletarian united front and the popular front of all anti-fascist-democratic forces. Shoulder to shoulder with Wilhelm Pieck and other leading comrades, Walter Ulbricht made an important contribution to the creation and implementation of a united and popular front policy consistent with the new

conditions. With this in mind, he appeared at the 8th world conference of the Comintern and at the Brussels conference of the KPD. In the years that followed, Walter Ulbricht was active up to 1938 in France, Czechoslovakia and other countries bordering on Germany in the effort to create a broad front of all German anti-fascists. He saw clearly the great dangers for world peace arising from fascist policies of aggression and rearmament.

From mid-1938 on, Walter Ulbricht was active in the leadership of the KPD and as a representative of that party to the executive of the Comintern in the Soviet Union. Here he experienced the barbaric attack of the Hitlerite fascists upon the first socialist state of the world. Deeply shaken, he condemned this aggression as the most serious kind of crime against even the German people itself and expressed his deepest conviction that the victory of the Soviet Union over the fascist invaders would be certain.

Together with Wilhelm Pieck, Wilhelm Florin and other members of the KPD Central Committee, he spared neither effort nor risk to inform German soldiers and officers at the front and in prisoner of war camps and to persuade them of the inevitable defeat of Hitlerite fascism. As co-founder of the National Committee "Free Germany" and as head of its operational section, Walter Ulbricht contributed much to the successful political indoctrination of the war prisoners and to gaining new anti-fascist fighters from their ranks.

With the liberation of our people from Hitlerite fascism by the Soviet Army and its allies, Walter Ulbricht returned to Germany. He was a member of the initiative groups comprised of members of the Central Committee and other experienced officials of the KPD as well as members of the NKFD. The group led by him operated in Berlin in implementing the party's resolutions for its activity after liberation from Hitlerite fascism. At the same time he worked closely with the party organizations of the Communists and Social Democrats who had emerged from the underground, with comrades released from prisons and concentration camps. Erich Honecker, who had his first personal contact with Walter Ulbricht in May 1945, recalls this in his autobiography and writes how impressed he was with the energy "with which he mastered his huge work load."

Foundation of the SED Pointed the Way to Socialism

Walter Ulbricht, together with Wilhelm Pieck, exerted a broad political and organizational effort within the leadership collective of the KPD along with the leadership collective of the SPD, with Otto Grotewohl, Max Fechner and others, to overcome the split in the working class and to create its political unity upon a revolutionary basis. This goal was achieved with the foundation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany. In it was created the political force which would enable the working class and its allies to pave the way for socialism on German soil and thereby create the conditions such that a war would never again emanate from German soil.

Together with Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and other members of the leadership collective of the party, Walter Ulbricht made a significant contribution to the development of the SED as the Marxist-Leninist party of struggle for the total elimination of the economic roots of imperialism and to equip the working class of our country to seize power and to use it for the establishment of socialism.

Walter Ulbricht had a decisive share in the founding of the German Democratic Republic, a turning point in the history of our people. After the creation of the first German worker and peasant state, Walter Ulbricht was elected to the highest positions in its party and its state. From 1950 until 1953 he was the secretary-general and, from July 1953 until May 1971, the first secretary of the SED Central Committee. In the government headed by Otto Grotewohl he was, until 1960, one of the deputies or the first deputy of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. Following the death of Wilhelm Pieck, Walter Ulbricht exercised, from September 1960 until his death 10 years ago on 1 August 1973, the functions of the chairman of the GDR Council of State.

Both in the collective of party leadership and as a representative of our socialist state, he played a decisive role in the creation and implementation of the general line of the party for creating the foundations of socialism and the establishment of the socialist order of society in our German Democratic Republic. Important initiatives for the development of socialist democracy were the work of Walter Ulbricht. His share was also large in the elaboration of the first five-year plans and the implementation of the party's economic policy.

Close Attention to Alliance Policy

He devoted great attention to the policy of alliance with working farmers and cooperation in trust with the parties of the Democratic Block.

From his long experience in the struggle Walter Ulbricht knew that the imperialists would never abandon their hope of regaining lost power positions and that this hope would, under certain conditions, be transformed into efforts to restore the power of monopoly capital. Thus he constantly devoted his attention to the establishment, the development and constant strengthening of the power of the workers and peasants. He resolutely faced all attacks of imperialism upon socialism. He held the view unstintingly that the defense of authentic socialism was the common task of all countries of the socialist community.

Because of his long years of activity as a proletarian internationalist, Walter Ulbricht was highly esteemed in the international workers movement as well. His efforts were significant in linking the GDR firmly within the socialist community within which the Soviet Union represents the main force.

A Lasting Place in our History

At the 16th session of the SED Central Committee in May 1971, Walter Ulbricht asked to be relieved of the functions of first secretary of the Central Committee. As he declared, his age--he was at that time 78 years old--and his responsibility to the Central Committee, the entire party and to the people would no longer allow him to fulfill the demands of so responsible an office. It was his opinion that this function should be passed on to younger hands. Upon the motion of Walter Ulbricht, Erich Honecker was unanimously elected first secretary of the Central Committee by the members of that body. In honor of the great service rendered by Walter Ulbricht in more than six decades in the workers movement, the Central Committee elected him to the post of chairman of the SED.

It was a grievous loss for the working class and the people of the GDR when, on 1 August 1973, a few weeks after his 80th birthday, Walter Ulbricht's life in the struggle came to an end. As a significant leader of the German working class, an exemplary proletarian revolutionary and internationalist and as a statesman with his roots among the people, he will have his lasting place in the history of our party and of the German Democratic Republic.

NEUES DEUTSCHLAND Account

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Jul 83 p 1

[Unattributed report, datelined 'Berlin (ND)': "Honor for Outstanding Workers' Leader: Solemn Ceremony in Remembrance of Walter Ulbricht--Erich Honecker and Other Members of State and Party Leadership Lay Wreaths in the Memorial of Socialist, on the Occasion of the 90th Birthday"]

[Text] Party and state leaders on Thursday morning honored the memory of Walter Ulbricht with a formal wreath laying ceremony at the Socialist Memorial site in Berlin-Lichterfelde.

On the occasion of the 90th birthday of the outstanding leader of the German and the international workers' movement, the important statesman of our republic and the steadfast fighter in the cause of socialism and peace, the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the SED and chairman of the Council of State of the GDR, Erich Honecker, other representatives of the party and the state, together with the widow Lotte Ulbricht, laid wreaths and flowers at the final resting place of Walter Ulbricht.

In the first rank of the participants in the formal ceremonies, accompanied by the strains of the funeral march "The Immortal Fallen," and passing through a cordon of soldiers from the guard regiment "Feliks Dzierzynski," were Erich Honecker, the members and candidates of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber Erich Mielke, Harry Tisch, Paul Verner and Egon Krenz as well as Lotte Ulbricht and Margot Honecker.

Also taking part in the memorial service were the president of the National Council of the National Front of the GDR, Prof Dr Lothar Kolditz, the chairmen of the allied parties and deputies to the chairman of the Council of State of the GDR Dr Ernst Mecklenburg (DBD), Gerald Goetting (CDU), Dr Manfred Gerlach (LDPD) and Prof Heinrich Homann (NDPD); the deputies to the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR Manfred Flegel, Hans-Joachim Heusinger, Wolfgang Rauchfuss and Dr Herbert Weiz; other members of the Central Committee of the SED, the Council of Ministers, the presidium of the People's Chamber and the Council of State, representatives of the mass organizations and veterans of the workers movement.

At the entrance to the rotunda where the grave of Walter Ulbricht lies next to those of Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and John Schehr, waved the red banner of the workers movement and the national standard of the GDR. An honor guard was drawn up at present arms. Accompanied by a roll of drums, soldiers of the

guard regiment laid the wreaths at the gravesite.

The wreath of the Central Committee bore the inscription on a red streamer, "In Honor of our Immortal Comrade Walter Ulbricht." Other wreaths were laid from the People's Chamber, the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR.

Those participating in the ceremony recalled the memory of the worker functionary in a minute of silence, honoring the man who, in the collective of the party leadership and as a representative of the socialist state, had played a significant role in the elaboration and implementation of the party's general line in laying the foundations of socialism and the creation of the socialist society. The national anthem of the German Democratic Republic was played. The members of the party leadership advanced to the gravesite. They and the other dignitaries bowed in memory of Walter Ulbricht.

The hymn of the workers' struggle, "Varshayanka," intoned by the members of the field music of the guard regiment, concluded the commemorative service.

9878
CSO: 2300/331

HUNGARY

REGULATIONS FOR WORKING ABROAD EASED

Who, How, Where

Budapest ESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Jun 83 p 4

[Interview with Judit Papay, deputy chief of the Budapest Municipal Council's Main Department for Labor Affairs, by "gyemant" (diamond); in Budapest, date of interview not given]

[Text] Since the promulgation of the Council of Ministers decree regulating the conditions under which Hungarian citizens may accept employment abroad, the number of clients visiting the Budapest Municipal Council's Main Department of Labor has increased considerably. It is too early, of course, to speak of experience and trends. Therefore we would like to know first of all what these clients are inquiring about. We asked Judit Papay, the deputy chief of the main department.

[Answer] About many things, too numerous to list. To those who come to us for information we must first of all explain that as of 1 July, every Hungarian citizen will be able to accept employment abroad. But we are not organizing such trips; it is up to each individual to do so himself.

[Question] In other words, employment abroad depends on already existing foreign ties.

[Answer] Yes. Those who already have jobs waiting for them abroad usually received invitations from friends, relatives or business contacts.

[Question] How many applications have you approved so far?

[Answer] You might say that up to now we have mostly been giving advice. For many people come to us who must obtain permission for employment abroad from some other agency, not from us. I believe it is not yet quite clear to every person concerned that our competence extends only to employees within the council's economy, respectively to persons working under the council's supervision, to members of cooperatives and business work partnerships, to freelancing intellectuals, and to retired persons. Everybody else must apply for permission to the central agency--in other words, to the ministry concerned--under whose supervision the applicant's enterprise is functioning. But reverting to your original question, we have in all three applications that will soon be dispatched.

[Question] On the basis of the inquiries, is it at all possible to draw any conclusions as to which strata or occupations are attracted the most by this new opportunity?

[Answer] I will try to answer your question but, as I have already mentioned, there are too many uncertain factors. The way it seems to us, it is primarily highly skilled workers, including artisans, and technical intellectuals who would like to avail themselves of this new opportunity.

[Question] According to the decree, employment at home is one of the criteria for obtaining permission to work abroad. According to your experience, how does this restriction affect young people starting their careers?

[Answer] To tell the truth, I have not encountered this problem so far. But, admittedly, some difficulties can be expected. Suitable jobs are not always available for young people starting their careers, especially intellectuals. If the young specialist in question does find a job with some budgetary institution and then accepts employment abroad, he might be holding down a slot for years. But I wish to emphasize once again that, up to now, this has been a moot question, because it has not occurred in practice.

[Question] Finally, which are the countries where your clients are accepting employment or would like to work?

[Answer] On the basis of the inquiries so far: the Federal Republic of Germany, Austria, Greece, the German Democratic Republic, and Canada.

No Raise for 300

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 17 July 83 p 3

[Article by Jeno Toth: "There Is a Regulation for It But the Enterprise Still Won't Pay"]

[Text] Lajos Ory, chief shop steward of the No 3 shop at the primary contracting and installation factory unit of Szellozomuvek (Ventilation Works), complained by phone of the following: Last year a decree of the Ministry of Finance raised the foreign-currency pay of workers assigned to work outside the country, but the enterprise is unwilling to grant the higher pay. With his complaint--i.e., with the problem of his colleagues who have undertaken to work abroad--he has already appealed to several forums, but at best he only received the advice that the persons concerned should file a complaint with the labor arbitration board. "Why are there trade union officials if they do not handle the complaint of 300 workers," he angrily asks.

The chief shop steward's indignation is understandable, because a worker must get what he is entitled to. But the chief shop steward is mistaken on one count: the Iron and Steel Workers' Trade Union and SZOT [Central Council of Trade Unions] did look into this complaint and are still following developments.

But let us examine what actually happened. A 1972 joint decree of the minister of labor and the minister of finance that regulates the conditions of employment and pay of workers permanently assigned to work abroad states, among other things, the following: "In disbursement the foreign-currency portion has to be converted into the official foreign currency according to the regulation that the Ministry of Finance issued in agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Trade. The Ministry of Finance will periodically send updates of this schedule to the interested parties."

Not Binding, Only a Possibility?

Thus the ministry periodically sends the enterprises a schedule which tells them how much foreign currency their workers are entitled to in various countries. Up to now there was no problem with this arrangement. But last December, due to the rampant inflation experienced in some countries, the ministry's schedule instructed the enterprises to give their workers very substantial raises (for example, 24 percent in the case of Iraq). Furthermore, the higher amounts had to be paid--or rather, should have been paid--for more than six months retroactively.

When the Iron and Steel Workers' Trade Union, in response to the chief shop steward's complaint, contacted the management of Szellozomuvek, the management told the union that retroactive payment was not binding, only a possibility. However, the management did not find it possible to pay retroactively because the amount involved was nearly 5.0 million forints, and this would upset the enterprise's budget.

Officials of the Iron and Steel Workers' Trade Union then inquired at several enterprises working on foreign projects and established that the ministry's measure had caused considerable confusion. On the one hand, there was the problem of interpretation: whether the enterprises had to pay or could pay. On the other, the amounts involved were very substantial. For example, Egyesult Izzo (United Incandescent Lamp) paid out nearly 7.0 million forints. ELGEP [Food Industry Machine Factory] likewise "settled its debt." And KIPSZER [Light Industry Assembling and Construction Enterprise], according to the information received by the Iron and Steel Workers' Trade Union, was exempted from retroactive payment.

But let us return to the original complaint: Why did Szellozomuvek not pay its workers?.

Dr Ferenc Nyitrai, the director of the enterprise, has this to say: "The enterprise's standpoint has always been that the workers must be paid what is due them. Thus the basic question is not whether the enterprise does or does not want to pay, but out of what. The announcement issued in mid-December contained retroactive provisions. We had not anticipated such substantial additional expense, and we had not contracted accordingly. We had no way of anticipating that the Iraqi projects would cost nearly 24 percent more."

The Question Is: Out of What

[Question] Had you known of this additional cost in advance, do you think you could have included it in the contract?

[Answer] We certainly would have tried. And had we been unsuccessful, we might not have concluded the contract. But the truth is that we are conducting this activity in order to earn foreign exchange for the national economy. In other words, we accept foreign jobs even if they offer only a small profit. The Iraqi projects are of this type. Which means that they do not contain a reserve of 20 to 25 percent.

[Question] In other words, there is nothing out of which to pay?

[Answer] The pay increases last year would have to be charged to this year's results. This expenditure of nearly 5.0 million forints would absorb about 8 percent of profit. Which means that we would be unable to grant the 1.5-percent wage increase planned for this year. Why? Because we are paying more to 10 percent of the work force. How could we face the others and tell them that their incomes would be lower for this reason? When also the democratic forums have already approved the planned wage increase? And this would be only the impact of the payments due last year. This year the increase will mean 6.0 million forints more, because as of 1 January the enterprise has been disbursing the higher foreign-currency pay.

Those Who Were Impatient Fared Better

[Question] Is it not peculiar? Those who are now abroad are getting the higher amount. But those who already earned their pay last year are still waiting for it. By the way, we heard that a few workers turned to the labor arbitration board and have received the difference after the board found in their favor.

[Answer] Indeed, a few workers did not wait until the enterprise found a way to pay. I wish to emphasize that the enterprise does want to pay. It is merely seeking a solution that will not tax the enterprise to the limit. We have applied to the Ministry of Finance, requesting a rescheduling of costs. We will pay as soon as we get approval. The advantage of rescheduling is that the additional cost will not hit our books all at once, but will be spread out over a period of three years.

The Central Council of Trade Unions and the Iron and Steel Workers' Trade Union are supporting the request of Szellozomuvek. Hopefully the ministry will approve the application, and the workers--after a wait of more than 6 months--will finally get what they earned.

In any event, unambiguous provisions should clarify this question in the future in order to avoid any possible misunderstanding as to whether the workers are entitled to higher foreign-currency pay retroactively or not.

1014
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HUNGARY

POLITBURO RESOLUTION ON PARTY MEMBERSHIP FACTS, FIGURES PUBLISHED

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian Jul 83 pp 10-14

[Article: "The Politburo's 21 June 1983 Resolution about the Work of Admitting Members, and the Way the Party's Membership Composition Is Developing"]

[Text] The last time the Politburo reviewed the experiences of admitting members and defined the tasks was in 1974. In the last 8 years the party has grown in a healthy way in accordance with the principles defined in the resolutions, the number of members has increased and its organization have improved. The political, professional and general education of the party membership has also increased. In summary the party organizations did a successful job of building the party, but the membership's composition has not developed in all respects to satisfy the requirements. In a number of party organizations the job of developing party members is still not adequate. The ratio of workers in the party has decreased. The work of building the party is weak among youth and in some strata of the intellectuals.

1. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [MSZMP] had approximately 852,000 members on 31 December 1982, which is 13 percent more than on 31 December 1974. This is 10.7 percent of the adult population. The growth is the consequence primarily of the respect the party enjoys and of its mass influence.

In the last 8 years the membership's rate of growth was 1.5 percent per year, slightly exceeding the rate in 1973 and 1974, which the Politburo's 1974 resolution considered desirable for the future years. The fact that the admission requirements were not always applied consistently also played a role in the increased membership.

2. The main characteristics of the party membership's present composition are as follows:

-Several generations of Communists exist and work together in the party. The number and ratio of those comrades who came into the party before the liberation or in the first years following it is decreasing. The decisive majority of party members grew up under the conditions of socialism, and

78 percent of them became members after 1956. In recent years our strength increased with many politically mature young people. The great majority of the 141,000 young people admitted since 1974 was reared in the KISZ organizations. At the same time the work of building the party continues to be poor among the young people. Only 4.6 percent of the 18-29 year old age group are party members. In the last 8 years the number of party members under 30 years of age decreased by over 2,000, and their ratio slipped from 12.4 percent to 10.7 percent. Among new party members the ratio of those under 30 years of age did not reach the two-thirds specified in the Politburo's resolution. Especially few young people were admitted from those under 26 years of age.

The prime reason for all this is that our political educational and organizational work is insufficient among youth. The young people are severely affected by our economic difficulties and the problems of starting a career, getting an apartment and starting a family and by the contradiction between educational needs and opportunities. The party organs and party organizations have not always paid sufficient attention to solving their problems and answering their questions either. The shortcomings and formalistic characteristics of political education are reflected by our powerless political influence among youth. KISZ is not sufficiently organized among the working youth or in the universities and colleges. Even the youth active in public life are not sufficiently familiar with the party's struggles, historical past and policies or the work of the party organizations, and even fewer of them are applying for membership in the party.

-Almost two-thirds of the party members were originally workers and 42.9 percent of them are presently in workers occupations, most of them working in major enterprises. Of the active wage earners in the working class 9.8 percent are party members. Their ratio is highest among the politically and trained labor strata, skilled labor and those who direct production.

In spite of our increased efforts the ratio of those in the party who belong to the working class has decreased; among new party members it slipped from 58.2 percent in 1975 to 49.2 percent in 1982. The main reason for this is that our political education, propaganda and organizational activities are weak among the manual laborers. A part of the party organizations is not sufficiently active and does not exert the right amount of influence on those outside the party. Forums of the party's life and of the plant democracy are often repetitive, local information is of low quality, the decisions made at party membership meetings are not known and the personal examples the party members set are not always satisfactory. The decline in the ratio of workers is also related to the fact that the number of workers among those who leave the party has been high for a long time. This shows that selection at times is not sufficiently circumspect, preparation is not thorough and not enough attention is paid to working with the new party members. The fact that the number of workers in the major enterprises decreased in the whole country also has an unfavorable effect on building the party, while at the same time the membership recruiting work is of low

quality in the medium and small plants and in some service areas. Even the workers who work well and stand up for our policies are more reluctant to accept the greater responsibility and restrictions which are part of party membership.

-Of the active wage earners among the peasantry of the producer cooperatives, 7.6 percent are party members. The ratio of party members--49.8 percent--is high and noteworthy among those who directly guide production. Party-building work has improved among the peasantry of producer cooperatives but the quality differences between basic party organizations are also expressed in member admission. The ratio of party members is still low, 6.1 percent, among agricultural manual workers.

-Those in intellectual occupations are party members in the ratio which is appropriate to their increasing social role. The organization of this stratum is highest, 18.7 percent, among the active wage earners. Their membership ratio has been gradually increasing for years. The number of party members is relatively high among intellectuals working in agriculture, lawyers and teachers in secondary and higher educational institutions. Party-building work is not satisfactory among scholars and among intellectuals and artists who work in cultural areas.

-The number of employees and administrative workers decreased in harmony with our efforts; but their organization (14.9 percent) continues significantly to exceed the average of the active wage earners. Our practice of membership admission does not in every case meet understanding among them. They feel that disadvantageous discrimination is applied to them. Their admission are often rejected with reference to quota numbers.

-In recent years the public life and political activities of women continued to increase and based on this, party-building among them has improved. In the last 8 years--in accordance with our goals--more than one-third of the new party members have been women.

3. Between January 1975 and January 1983, 138,891 individuals left the party. (There were 65,758 deaths, 12,684 expulsions, 32,452 voluntary withdrawals and 27,997 cancellations.)

The extent and the reasons for expulsions, withdrawals and cancellations have been essentially the same for years. In some cases they also shed light on the weaknesses of education within the party and the shortcomings of caring for the party members. The ratio of workers and cooperative peasants is high (together 73.0 percent) among the expelled, withdrawn and cancelled members. Almost 30 percent of those leaving are retirees, but the ratio of those under 30 years of age, 8.1 percent, is relatively significant. The most frequent reason for expulsion is damage caused to social property, acquisition of unjustified advantages and corruption. More persons than in earlier periods had to be expelled for accidents caused by carelessness, foreign currency crimes and fleeing the country

[disszidalas]. Most cancellations occurred because of neglect of the organization's life. Those withdrawing generally refer to illness, old age, religion and family problems, or do not wish to undertake the obligations which are part of party membership. The number of those among them who disagree with party policy is minimal. Significant is the number of 1944-45 party members who have resigned.

4. In recent years the occasional character of party-building work decreased. The directing party organs--party committees and executive committees--regularly work on the job of member admission. But evaluation of information is often superficial. More thorough political analysis which uncovers the influencing factors, and determination of the tasks that could be derived from this, are missing. The specifications concerning the composition of member admissions are generally implemented by political means but the work of the basic organizations in this area is not everywhere followed with attention throughout the year and the facts are only registered afterwards. The mechanical statistical view is still a factor. At times in the interest of keeping the desired composition administrative interference occurs.

The planning of party-building activities of the basic party organizations has improved. The majority of them deals with the preparation of member admissions on the basis of specific ideas. They pay more attention to political educational work done in the social and mass organizations and movements and in the workers guard. But it still causes problems that preparation is lengthy and there are many formalities in some basic organizations. In other cases larger requirements are placed before those intending to become members than apply to party members. The responsibility of sponsors increased but low demands and superficiality can also still be seen. In several basic organizations the circle of sponsors narrows to one or two party members, and a significant portion of the party membership takes no part in training the replacements. The basic party organizations and party groups are paying greater attention now to regularly giving party assignments to the new party members but even so it happens that many of them are left out and find it difficult to become a part of the organization's life.

The Politburo accepts the report dealing with membership work and development of the party's composition, and in harmony with the resolutions of the 12th Congress defines the main tasks of party-building work as follows:

1. Development of the number of party members and the party's social composition should continue to express that the MSZMP is the avant guard of the working class and the party of the working people. A basic requirement of the work of party-building is that it must strengthen the party's unit, discipline and mass influence and the mutual confidence between the party and the masses. This requires Communists first of all to serve unselfishly the public interest.

It is the obligation of every party member to strengthen his confidence in the party and increase the respect of Communists by exemplary work, modest and disciplined behavior and to take an active stand in favor of our policies. This requires constant enrichment of the theoretical preparedness, increased political activity, observation of party and state discipline and the standards of socialist morals and a definite stand against mistakes, shortcomings and erroneous views.

The new party members should come from among those who are willing to assume these requirements; who identify themselves with the party's ideals, policies, programs and organizational rules; and who before admission have already proven in some mass organization or social movement that they are ready to serve unselfishly the party. Those who have won the respect of their fellow workers and of the work collective are appreciated by them and are able further to strengthen the party's influence and respect.

2. It is a basic requirement that through strict individual evaluation the best of society's each strata should be admitted into the party. The rate of membership admissions should not increase compared to the average of recent years, while its social composition should improve in accordance with the contents of the resolution. The changes taking place in social conditions must be given more attention in party-building.

a) It is an unchanged requirement that on the nationwide basis the majority of those admitted into the party should come from the working class. Therefore political and ideological education and the party's influence must be strengthened among the workers. Raising the political, job and general education of the workers--especially the young workers--should be a constant job. This should receive a greater role in the curricula of the various educational formats. The party organizations should pay more attention to the leading workers in socialist brigades and competitive movements and to the active workers in the mass organizations. They should involve broader circles of the workers in public life and give them social assignments. The party's reinforcements must be ensured primarily from the ranks of the workers of major enterprises and from the skilled workers, but membership recruitment must also be given greater attention in the medium and small enterprises, in the newly created production units as well as in the construction industry and in the area of services.

b) Among the ranks of cooperative peasantry attention must be given first of all to the admission of young skilled workers. The managing party organs should help eliminate unjustified inequalities in the party-building work of the basic organizations in the producer cooperatives.

c) Party-building work must be made more circumspect and more differentiated among those in intellectual jobs. Within this social stratum primarily the admission of respected individuals working in the areas of the sciences, culture and the arts and in production management should be promoted. Also among the employees, the ones worthy of it should be admitted into the party.

d) It is a primary and emphasized task that in all classes and strata of society the efforts should be concentrated on training the young people for party membership. Through active political work it must be achieved that the great majority of those admitted should be young people under 30 years of age, with a significant portion of them around 20 years. The ideological and political training of youth must be significantly improved; they must be helped in starting their careers, fitting into their jobs and society and starting their families. Efforts must be made so that a realistic picture can develop in them about social realities, about socialism and about the party. The socialist commitment of our youth must be strengthened.

Therefore the regional, plant, university and college party organizations should investigate specifically what local circumstances are hindering the young workers, the youth of producing cooperatives, university and college students as well as the secondary school students and secondary school graduate trade school students from being trained for party membership. Based on this, they should take steps to improve the work and to create the necessary conditions. The responsibility of educational party organizations and Communist educators must be increased in the political and ideological training of youth. Great weight must continue to be placed on training for party membership during the time of military service, and its continuity must be ensured for youth called up and discharged from service.

The Communist Youth League [KISZ]—building on those results which it achieved in its work of preparing for party membership—should train its best members with greater responsibility and should recommend them more courageously and in larger circles for party membership. It should take a stand against practices whereby youths who apply to the party are forced to confront unrealistic requirements.

e) In accordance with the role of women in society, the developed favorable ratio of women must be continuously ensured in admittance to membership.

3. Raising the standards of the work of the basic party organizations and improving the human contacts by a convincing display of Communist example are indispensable conditions for successful party-building. From being an occasional job in some places, party-building everywhere should become an organic part of political activity, one of the fundamental tasks of all areas of party work. Every Communist should feel responsible for strengthening our lines, for the training of new party members, and they should also personally take part in this work and should smooth the path of the best into the party.

The sponsors owe a responsibility for the opinions of their candidates. Therefore they should become thoroughly familiar with the work, behavior, character and family circumstances of the future member; they should become convinced about their preparedness and commitment. Even after admission they should help the new party member they sponsored to fit into the society.

In order to improve the democratism of the member admission work, the party organization should request the workplace collective's opinion about the person recommended for admission before it makes a decision.

It is an important task of the Communists working in the social and mass organizations, movements and the workers guard to contribute to ensuring the party's replacement. They should work responsibly so that as many of the best activists as possible could progress far enough to accept party membership.

After admission to membership the basic organizations and party groups should take care in a better planned and more continuous way to train the new party members, include them in the organization's life, and give them controllable party assignments suitable to their preparation and conforming to specific political needs.

4. The party's unity and expansion of its contacts with the masses make it necessary to divorce ourselves continuously from those who due to their own fault are not fulfilling the obligations which come with party membership. In such cases we must always proceed with great responsibility. The reasons for workers and long-time party members leaving must be carefully uncovered so that--inasmuch as these would depend on the given party organizations--they can be eliminated.

5. The managing party organs--while strengthening the independence and self-motivated activity of the basic organizations--should see to it that the resolution is carried out. With systematic control and analytical work they should uncover the political factors which influence the success of party-building; they should follow with attention, help the activities of the basic organizations and prevent the development of improper tendencies and methods.

The Budapest Party Committee, the megye party committees and the party committees with megye's rights should develop the tasks of implementation. In harmony with the present resolution they should determine the rate of membership growth and, pay attention to their specific characteristics and the social composition of new members. They should achieve the proper ratios--without quota numbers--by political means and by a continuous control of new membership recruitment.

8584
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DEMICHÉV DISCUSSES CULTURAL COOPERATION BASED ON 'SOCIALIST INTERNATIONALISM'

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 16 Jul 83 p 7

[Interview with Petr Demichev, alternate member of the CPSU Politburo and Soviet cultural minister, by Jozsef Martin, MAGYAR NEMZET Moscow correspondent, in Moscow, date not given]

[Text] [Question] The Hungarian-Soviet inter-government mixed committee for cultural cooperation met recently in Moscow. How do you evaluate the development of the cultural cooperation of our countries? In your opinion, are there unexploited reserves in the mutual work? Are there new forms of cooperation?

[Answer] The objective processes of the present phase of socialist and communist construction demand a significant increase in the role of culture for culture is an effective creative force and a very important factor in bringing together the socialist countries intellectually. The achievements of the May session of the Hungarian-Soviet inter-government mixed committee for cultural cooperation confirmed this repeatedly. The Hungarian delegation participating in the conference was led by Istvan Sarlos, a member of the MSZMP Political Committee and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. The committee noted with satisfaction that the cultural cooperation of the Soviet Union and the Hungarian People's Republic was being realized successfully in harmony with the resolutions of the 26th congress of the CPSU and the 12th congress of the MSZMP. A mutual effect is considerable and is constantly present in every single area of culture, art and literature, without exception.

New Aspects

Our cooperation is developing dynamically on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism and on the basis of the prescriptions of the agreement on friendship, cooperation and mutual aid. We reviewed questions connected with making the common creative activity more profound and with increasing the role of the mass media--including radio and television--in developing and strengthening Soviet-Hungarian cultural, artistic and literary contacts. We summed up the fulfillment of pledges pertaining to cooperation in secondary school education, in the area of pedagogical sciences, and we designated plans for our future joint activity.

The cultural cooperation of the two fraternal countries has taken on qualitatively new aspects today. We no longer speak only of exchange in culture and art but rather of an ever deeper process of the joint creation of spiritual values, about the common building of the culture of the new world. The corner stone of our common work is strict respect for each others' national and cultural traditions and the creative development of these is the principled position of the cultural policy of our parties.

The forms of our cooperation are manifold and the spirited development merits recognition. Taking everything together, between 1979 and 1982 alone we exchanged 110 artists' collectives and groups including such world famous ones as the symphony orchestra of the Soviet Union, the Gorkiy Theater in Leningrad, the Siberian dance company from Krasnoyarsk, the State Concert Orchestra led by Janos Ferencsik, the opera company of the Hungarian State Opera, the symphony orchestra and chorus of Hungarian Radio and Television and others. In this period 11 Soviet exhibits were held in the Hungarian People's Republic and 12 Hungarian exhibits were held in the Soviet Union. The series of programs which has already become a tradition are truly magnificent manifestations of our unbreakable friendship--the days of Hungarian culture in the Soviet Union and the days of Soviet culture in Hungary. The direct cooperation of our cultural institutions is developing very actively. In addition to the regular exchange of delegations we can report on such new and promising forms of common work as the joint staging of prose and music productions with the participation of Soviet and Hungarian artists.

Common Values

Much has happened already but we must do even more in the future. At the 12th congress of the MSZMP Comrade Janos Kadar said this: "In the future also we will do everything to further strengthen the unity of the socialist countries, their political, economic, cultural and ideological cooperation." This position of the MSZMP fully coincides with the position of the CPSU. We have outlined those new steps to be taken to deepen further the common creative work of the cultivators of Soviet and Hungarian culture. These measures are aimed at the joint creation of the values of socialist culture--this culture is based on the principles of party spirit and ethnic character. We have planned the development of cooperation in book publishing, in film making, in theater arts, in literature, in the graphic arts and music and in the area of the tools of mass information.

It is well known that one of the distinguishing unique characteristics of Soviet culture is its multinational nature. The cultures of various peoples and nationalities live and flourish side by side.

[Question] Could you tell the Hungarian readers what effect these cultures have on one another?

[Answer] Lenin pointed out that in intellectual life historical tendencies find self-expression, on the one hand, in national questions and, on the other hand, in the development of national cultures and in the strengthening contacts developing among them. In a developed socialist society the national relationships show qualitatively new aspects and peculiarities. These national relationships are characterized by the flowering of the entire people and by the many-sided development of their culture. A process of coming together strengthens and their mutual effect on one another deepens at the same time. From the beginning the internationalist and national aspects of socialist Soviet culture grew together organically. Creating a powerful amalgam of national cultures, the multi-national Soviet culture developed on the soil of close cooperation among the peoples. In the phase of mature socialism very great opportunities for the flowering of national cultures and for a deepening friendship open before every republic. The unidirectional effect of national cultures has ended. The initial form of contact--at that time the more developed republics offered aid to the less developed--have been replaced by a qualitatively new and more complex form, that is, a mutual enrichment and an approach to one another on this basis. This process started immediately after the October Revolution but in the first times the unfolding of it was limited by significant differences appearing in the cultural development of the several republics and regions. Before the October Revolution, for example, there was not a single higher level institution of learning in Azerbaydzhhan, Byelorussia or Central Asia. Entire areas of Central Asia lacked theaters, museums and libraries. The socialist society brought the peoples literacy; in the years of Soviet power more than 40 nationalities and ethnic groups learned to read and write. Symphonic music was unknown to the Kazakhs, Uzbeks and Tadzhiks. Today there is a Kazakh opera house and an Uzbek ballet company, and both have achieved very nice results. The peoples of Central Asia, the Caucasus and Dagestan and others have also created and are successfully developing such branches of art as drama, ballet, polyphonic music and panel painting.

The true flowering of national cultures, the mutual effects and the process of mutual enrichment were shown especially powerfully in the days around the 60th anniversary of the founding of the Soviet Union, when festivals were held by the fraternal peoples; professional and amateur companies gave an account of their activities in a creative manner and exhibits showing the culture and art of various peoples were held in Moscow one after another.

Internationalist Education

Together with all this the conditions of developed socialism absolutely demand the perfection of internationalist education, that we determinedly free ourselves of all whose time has past, which is antithetical to our Communist ideals. As Comrade Y.V. Andropov has said, "We must persistently seek new forms and methods of work suitable for present needs, as a result of which the cultures will affect one another even more fruitfully. Everything which is good, which the culture of our peoples offers, must be made much more accessible to everyone."

[Question] We live in a complicated, tense international situation. How do you evaluate the role of culture in the process of various countries coming together? What is the role of culture in the process of various countries coming together? What is the role of culture under the conditions of peaceful coexistence?

[Answer] In its foreign policy the Soviet government has always represented its unchanged position that peace must be preserved consistently and deliberately, that the many-sided cooperation of countries and peoples must be developed independent of their social systems. In a series of historical documents about which the world was informed from revolutionary Petrograd one can find a document dated 30 December 1917. In it the Soviet power turned to the peoples and governments of various countries saying that "it regarded it as its task to create conditions under which, on the one hand, every people would receive complete freedom for national development independent of its level of development or its size and, on the other hand, conditions which would make possible the unification of every people in economic and cultural cooperation." We have not deviated from this principle in word or deed for it belongs to the nature of our society. A knowledge of the desires, problems and aspirations of other peoples creates the mutual understanding and trust so indispensable from the viewpoint of a lasting peace and all this finds expression with increased strength in cultural life. There is nothing more understandable, accessible and generally more human than the language of art. The great Russian writer L.N. Tolstoy said that "art is one of the tools for uniting people."

It can be said now with complete confidence that a form of international cultural cooperation which is new in principle has developed in the world--the contacts of the fraternal socialist countries. The basis for this is comradely cooperation, the identity of goals and ideological unity while holding in complete respect the cultural traditions and peculiarities of every single country. The basis of this is socialist internationalism.

Confidence and Peace

Every socialist country is striving consistently to expand cultural contacts with foreign states, for the complete and mutual realization of the closing document of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation. In complete harmony with the principles of the UN the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are expanding cultural cooperation with the developing states year by year on the basis of equality, mutual respect and the principles of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. They actively aid these countries in the struggle against "cultural colonialism and neocolonialism" and support them in preserving their national cultures and cultural inheritance--helping them to have the right of active participation in the development of world culture, in broad international cooperation.

The second world conference of UNESCO held in Mexico last year on cultural policy supports these principles in full measure. In our view the chief

idea of the conference was that the participants unitedly confirmed that culture and peace, culture and the right to life, were concepts inseparable from one another. During the 1970's the development of cultural cooperation significantly aided and encouraged the concrete realization of the detente process. The humanist principles of socialist culture, the imperishable ideals of peace and friendship among peoples and the high level of socialist culture won the hearts of many millions of people on our Earth.

The sudden turn of the American regime from the detente policy toward an increase in international tension has sharpened the situation to an extraordinarily dangerous degree. The United States unilaterally ended cultural cooperation with the Soviet Union, which had developed successfully if not always evenly in the past decade and which encouraged the mutual understanding of our peoples. Our cultural cooperation, which might contribute with its own tools to improving international contacts, has, unfortunately, practically ended today because of the American regime. Nevertheless we are convinced that one can always achieve mutually advantageous results in the sphere of politics, in the economy and in culture if the various sides have good will and an interest in solving international problems. The experiences of cooperation with many capitalist countries in recent years are witness to this. Despite the complex world situation cultural cooperation has constantly developed and improved qualitatively.

In conclusion I would like to emphasize what is most important--by approaching the best creations of the cultures of various countries and peoples, people get to know one another better. This knowledge encourages mutual understanding and the latter encourages trust. And this is the true path for strengthening peace and ensuring the right to life.

8984
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CENTRAL COMMITTEE SECRETARY DISCUSSES CHANGES IN ELECTORAL SYSTEM

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jun 83 p 3

[Interview with Mihaly Korom, CC Secretary and member of the MSZMP Politburo, by Laszlo Szabo; date and place not given]

[Text] Based on the recommendations of a previously appointed work committee, the Central Committee, at its last session, took a stand on the development of our electoral system. The head of the work committee and the secretary of the program was Dr Mihaly Korom, member of the MSZMP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] Politburo, secretary of the Central Committee, who discussed the findings and recommendations of the work committee with our coworker.

[Question] Until now, we have maintained and written that the representative bodies of our people fulfill their role in the life of society. What necessitated, nevertheless, the reexamination of our electoral system? The work committee headed by you was already appointed in the spring of 1981 by the Central Committee from among its members and it presented its report only now? How was this long period, and the fact that this task was assigned to such a high-level body justified?

[Answer] Indeed, the decision was made earlier. When in June 1980, the Central Committee evaluated the experiences with the general election at the time, it rated the elections successful, but those participating in the discussion called attention to some deficiencies and contradictions. Based on this, the decision was made that the further advancement of the electoral system must be put on the agenda. Experts from scientific and applied fields were recruited for the work. We had discussions with leaders of the Budapest and megye party committees and, in addition to the domestic experiences, we studied the electoral systems of socialist countries, and surveyed our experiences with earlier elections, and the domestic and foreign literatures on election law. We came to the conclusion that the electoral system is basically well founded and enduring, and should be maintained as such. But, in the course of our examinations, some possibilities for new solutions also surfaced. Their introduction will advance our electoral system in accordance with current and future needs and demands.

Our experiences were first reported to the Central committee last November and our ideas were presented. After a thorough discussion, the Central Committee gave a new mandate to the work committee to continue its efforts and to submit its proposals when ready for a decision. At the same time, the Central Committee requested from the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front that they discuss the ideas formulated, evaluate them and present their observations.

By the middle of the year, we got to the point where we could collate all opinions and present our report.

...members of the representative bodies can be selected from among those best fitted for it."

[Question] What general experiences surfaced during the analysis by the work committee?

[Answer] Perhaps the most important was the conclusion that, while the institutions of socialist democracy have advanced in many areas of life, thereby expressing societal needs, the elections, although they clearly demonstrated a stand for the policies, in essence were narrowed to the fact of voting in spite of the Party endeavors. But in the course of general elections, the people were establishing, through their trust, precisely those state power, people's representative and self-governing organs--I am referring to Parliament and the councils--which provide the most important constitutional services. Elections are by no means symbolic acts. Not a single Hungarian citizen can be indifferent by whom and how he is represented in the governing bodies mentioned. Voting is an important part of the election because, in the course of an election, the people also vote on the policies. However, policies can undoubtedly be represented several ways.

Parliament and the councils, as the basic institutions of the democratic state order, express and personify the people's sovereignty and, at the same time, also insure the expression of the class and stratum conditions of society, and the federative policies of the Party. Namely, this is a basic condition for having these bodies, through their decisions, properly further the attainment of socialist goals, strengthen socialist national unity and become the democratic platforms of public life. This can only be achieved if the voters feel that they can select the members of the representative bodies from among the best suited candidates. The election system is an organic part of the political system. Its results and weaknesses, including its goals for advancement, can be correctly evaluated and defined only with respect to the concrete political conditions, facts and goals.

We have reached a phase of our development in which the possibilities of mass participation in public life must be further expanded and the necessary

conditions must be provided. Such a possibility would be if, in contrast to the current eventuality, multiple nominations are made routine.

"Nevertheless, we could become witnesses to a decreasing tendency."

[Question] How should this be interpreted? If possible, please, also mention some details of this.

[Answer] The numbers speak for themselves. These indicate that since 1971, there has been a gradual decrease in the number of double or multiple nominations both in the case of parliamentary representatives and council members. In 1971, when our election law was modified by Parliament, and the possibility of running two or more candidates was introduced, 49 places took advantage of it, in 1975, 34 places while in 1980, double nominations took place in only 15 parliamentary election districts. There also has been a decrease in the case of council members. In 1971, two or more candidates ran in 3000 council member election districts while in 1980, this dropped to 1779 election districts. And this happened in spite of the fact that the possibility of double or multiple candidacy was also promoted by the election law. For instance, the article of the law which states that, at the nominating convention, anyone can recommend a candidate and a vote by one-third of those present is sufficient for nomination, could definitely have promoted multiple nominations. In spite of it, we could witness the decreasing tendency mentioned.

[Question] What could have caused this?

[Answer] The work committee tried to get to the bottom of the experiences revealed. One such experience was that those who were nominated together with 1 or 2 more candidates, viewed the fact of nomination not so much as an honor but took into account above all the possibility of "losing." This was especially true with candidates of not completely equal political weight. Those who did not win, were perceived as some sort of failures by those around them. This is certainly also related to the fact that historically, we do not have too many democratic traditions. Therefore, many were not only reluctant but they also refused to be nominated in an election district where votes had to be fought for and where one could also be losing because of the presence of another candidate. The second experience was that neither did the local political organs support multiple nomination as a possibility.

...Let us introduce a new type of mandate in our election law system."

[Question] According to the proposal of the Central Committee, Parliament will make it mandatory in every electoral district that at least two

candidates must run in the election of both representatives and local council members. To what extent could this change the opinions in this context?

[Answer] If in every electoral district there are at least two candidates nominated, this will necessitate an increased political campaign work by the political and social organs. Thereby we can also resolve the contradiction that in our democratic election system, until now, the citizen had a real possibility of choice, above all, at the nomination. It will also definitely change public opinion that we are recommending that Parliament introduce a new type of mandate in our electoral law system for those who, although they were "beaten" in the election campaign, received at least 25 percent of the votes. They will become representative or council member without special election in case a seat is vacated.

Getting back to nominations, I stress that we must achieve it by active political work that the fact of nomination by itself should become an honor. And if multiple nominations will not be considered a formalistic act, and in the future we can in no way consider them as such, then it will also be vitally important that every candidate should get equal chances, he should be able to express his views to the voters, to voice his opinions, and to have the assurance of equal possibilities for these.

[Question] Let us say, also in the case of a Party member versus a non-member?

[Answer] Yes, equal chances must also be provided in such a combination. I know that this will not be easy, that much old conditioning will have to be eliminated from our thinking.

The practical realization of the new traits of the election system also requires greater activity on the part of the citizens because, in the future, everyone will have to literally choose at least between two candidates and the voting citizen will certainly mark on his ballot the one he has greater trust in and he thinks can better represent his interests and the community in Parliament or in the local council.

[Question] Can this also mean that the candidates for council membership or representative must fight for the votes?

[Answer] This is self evident although I stress that there cannot be a place for the old-time electioneering of bad repute. The citizens will only be able to choose among the candidates if they get to know them. This in turn presupposes that the candidates must introduce themselves and must furnish proof of their fitness for public life. That is, they cannot sidestep "entering the arena." But this must be comprehended in the socialist sense because not a single candidate can have a program that is contrary to socialism and every candidate can run or engage in politics only within the election program of the Popular Front.

Accordingly, it will be decisive who can take on more of the execution of the election program of the Popular Front--of course, not through irresponsible promises--and can have the electorate accept most of the suitable traits of his personality.

"Our experiences with the individual election district system are favorable."

[Question] The Central Committee is recommending to Parliament to retain the individual election district system as the basic framework of the election of representatives, but to also have a nationwide election list. How is this twofold solution justified and how should one interpret it?

[Answer] In the election of parliamentary representatives, the individual election district system was introduced in 1967. Before that date, the so-called election system by national ballot list was in effect. Our experiences with the individual election district system are favorable. It was also the opinion of the work committee that this should not be changed because it is useful if both the representatives and the local council members are attached to a specific administrative area and to its citizens. They know how far the "authority" of their mandate stretches just as their electors know personally who is their representative or council member. There are, however, figures in public life who can be looked upon as the representatives not only of a given election district because they enjoy the trust not merely of a single election district but of millions. These individuals also have such public and social weight that it would not be purposeful to tie them to a single election district since they represent nationwide interests, they are national factors. These considerations led us--needless to say, after comparing many-many opinions and experiences--to recommend that the 352 individual election districts be retained but a national ballot be introduced with the names of 30-35 individuals on it. This proportion is at the most 10 percent of the representatives selected within the individual election districts. They would be elected by the vote of every registered citizen of the country. The Central Committee accepted our proposal. Let me add that after the introduction of nationwide ballot, the number of members of Parliament will be increased by the number of those elected from this ballot. In our opinion, the working effectiveness of the body can still be retained with that size of membership and, at the same time, the individual district system will also not be overshadowed.

[Question] In making this proposal, did not the work committee also have the intention to avoid the possibility that, in making double nominations general, the public life personalities of exceptionally great political weight would "weigh down" the other nominee running against them?

[Answer] We were not led by such considerations but by the reasons already mentioned. Otherwise, in addition to the recommended nationwide ballot which is limited to 30-35 individuals, several public life personalities

of great nationwide prestige can also be nominated in the individual districts. If the voters give the mandate to them, those nominated with them and given a mandate of representative in reserve can certainly have nothing to be ashamed of.

...we found the solution which better insures the direct representation of the interests of village associations."

[Question] Accordingly, the nominating rallies will henceforth be--if at all possible--an even more important element of every preparation for election. Are there changes to be expected in this respect?

[Answer] In current practice, every election district usually holds only one nominating rally for parliamentary representative. This cannot be maintained in this form in the future because the running of several candidates presupposes the existence of several nominating rallies in every election district. In the future, if someone is nominated at the first rally, and subsequently another prospective nominee appears somewhere else, additional nominating rallies must also be held where the two appear together and the voting citizens can get to know them together. From this follows that the prospective nominees must personally attend the nominating rallies.

The candidates on the nationwide ballot will be placed there by the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front because the entire country cannot be called together to a nominating rally.

[Question] What will the representatives and council members in reserve do in public life?

[Answer] This also evoked wide-ranging discussions. Some took the stand that the representatives and council members in reserve must be institutionally drawn into public life. According to others, this is not necessary because those who attain a mandate as representative or council member in reserve are already in public life and therefore, we should not invent such special, concrete assignments for them in this capacity. In my opinion, this latter stand is correct. That is, the mandate in reserve will be a social rank and its "owner" can actually assume his constitutional function when the original mandate of the election district becomes vacated.

[Question] Inhabitants of the so-called associated villages of joint village councils often complain that they do not feel sufficiently represented in the joint council. When the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front received for evaluation and discussed the preliminary views on the further advancement of the election system, it also raised the point that some kind of solution must be sought because more than half of our village councils

are in so-called joint councils and 50 percent of the village population lives there. What is the essence of the change?

[Answer] We consider this demand justified and we found a mode of solution which will insure better than before the direct representation of the interests of village associations. According to the accepted proposal, the population of the settlements involved will vote for council members in the joint village council also in the future--in proportion to the number of inhabitants--but the collective of the council members elected in this manner--with the exception of the district seat settlements, of course--will, at the same time, also become the officials of the given village. The designation is secondary. The important thing is that these elected bodies receive actual possibility to function in the life of the given village associations, in the interest of the people living and working there. These bodies function without a special apparatus but receive spheres of authority to be determined in council law. Within these frames, they will be able to make independent decisions and will also be in command of certain financial capital. These were decided in possession of the experience that the formation of joint councils was a necessary process originating from our social and economic development which took place over the last 20 years. This form of public administration made possible the very significant decentralization of the powers of authority during the previous decade as a result of which the management of state administration became more professional and the local councils could be reinforced with experts. In 1960, out of our 3210 villages, there was an independent council in 3024 of them. Today, there are 697 independent and 715 joint councils active in Hungary.

[Question] Will the megye councils continue to retain the indirect electoral system?

[Answer] Yes. It was our experience that the current order of regional council election was confirmed by use. Indirect election worked well here. It is known that the local councils select their representatives to megye councils by electing them at council sessions. This remains unchanged.

"It is to be wished that the organs of popular representation should increasingly become the platforms of national and local politics..."

[Question] The notion was raised that the number of council members should be decreased. Why?

[Answer] At one time, the councils were looked upon not only as organs of the state power and state administration, but also as the broadest mass organizations. This was also spelled out in the first law on councils in 1950. The number of people in a given council were also determined accordingly. Subsequent experience failed to confirm the mass-organizational

character of the councils, the new law on councils does no longer include this, although the number of people in these bodies remained essentially unchanged. For instance, the upper limit of the number of council members who can be elected in cities and in the districts of the Capital is 150, and in the villages it is 100. Practical experiences indicate that, at these levels, a body consisting of such large number of people is no longer fully effective, its work is accompanied by much formalism and solemnity. Therefore, it is purposeful to lower, in a differentiated, sensible manner, the upper limit of the number of local council members who can be elected. This is additionally justified by the fact that the generalization of double and multiple nominations presupposes the election of the individual better suited for public work. We are also considering that the work of the elected council members should be, more than before, purposefully concentrated on activities of that body.

[Question] The positions taken concerning the further advancement of the election law are further increasing the democratism of state life. In your opinion, what tasks await the Parliament and the councils in this respect?

[Answer] With respect to the democratism of state life, the Central Committee will have a special discussion on the subject. But the advancement of the election system will hopefully be also accompanied by a raise in the contextual level of the work of popular representative bodies. It is our general experience that, while the place and role of Parliament and of the councils is constitutionally regulated, there still are things to be desired in their everyday activities. The representation of justified interests of the population is not sufficiently forceful, and their controlling role over the administrative apparatus is not sufficiently defining. It is to be desired that the bodies of popular representation become even more the platforms of national and local politicizing where the national and local problems of society are discussed and decided in front of the entire population. In our opinion, the planned further advancement of the election system will also contribute to the realization of these important requirements--concluded Dr Mihaly Korom.

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LUBLIN PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Indifference of Some Party Members

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 27 May 83 p 3

[Article by Leg]

[Text] Information on the course of action of party organizations and echelons in the struggle with indifference of some party members prepared by the Political-Organizational Department for the Executive Board of KW [Provincial Committee] PZPR in Lublin undoubtedly has two advantages: it contains a number of specific statements describing the work that has been undertaken and it does not attempt to smooth over and embellish the situation.

Thus we find a statement that some members of the Lublin party organization which, as a whole, demonstrates an increase of commitment and activity do not show sufficient interest in party matters, do not fulfill their statute obligations such as participating in meetings, paying contributions and, even if they fulfill these formal obligations, they show indifference to the most essential social and political problems, reluctance to commit themselves in any way in the problems of the community. This puts them in a position of passive dummies instead of committed and active party members.

Is this phenomenon massive and universal in the whole party, as our ideological opponents maintain?

No fear! If 3,464 comrades are selected for conversations in a party organization numbering tens of thousands of members, then any generalizations of this kind are simply false. It is good, however, that the party does not neglect this phenomenon, that it was decided that each of the comrades accused of indifference and insufficient commitment should be reached directly. The more so that in some organizations the decrease of activeness and indifference of members is not an insurmountable result of the past, but it appeared during the recent months, already after a certain liveliness brought about by the events of the last year, and especially the reporting campaign, which was carried out with considerable consistency and concern for wide scope and universality of action.

Some 204 teams consisting of members of party echelons, party control committees, lecturers and activists have been formed in the Lublin province to carry out the conversations. The City Party Committee in Lublin gave up forming the teams believing--and rightly so--that the best effects of action can be achieved by teams formed inside the party organizations. In areas where the phenomenon of indifference appeared in some less numerous and ideologically weaker party organizations the creation of such teams was necessary.

What are the results of the conversations that have been carried out? The information of the Department provides accurate data: 71 members of the party have resigned their membership in PZPR, the teams have suggested that 56 further members be purged, a number of members have self-criticized their attitude, there were also cases in which people who had returned their membership cards have asked to have them back...

As of the beginning of May the advancement of these conversations was estimated to be 70 percent. Considerable accumulation of field work at the time has obstructed the process in many countryside organization. Nevertheless it has been decided that the conversations should be completed by the end of May and the results presented at party meetings.

However, all this information--interesting as it may be--does not make it possible to find the answer to the basic question: What are the causes of indifference of party members? How do they explain their attitudes?

One had to reach the members of committees and their interlocutors and induce them to talk sincerely.

Secretary of a large, active Factory Organization in Lublin: "We had various interlocutors: some were evasive, others were straightforward in telling us what was on their minds. Some, for instance, told us that the timing of meetings was not right, but when asked if they could suggest the right time for the meetings, they could not answer.

"The thing is that we have decided to end the practice of having meetings or instruction during work hours. It is equally difficult to accept explanations based on bad state of health or excessive obligations. After all we all work a lot now and the obligations do not seem to decrease in number either.

"On the other hand one should treat more seriously those who say that party membership is unfavorably looked upon by the family or the neighboring community. While in factories we have already managed to appease the problem, it is still sometimes this way, and sometimes that way in the communities where people live.

"We also had several people who believed themselves to have been wronged because they were stripped of their positions or social functions. We put it like this: no one should connect party membership with any

position. Nevertheless attention should be paid to just evaluation of people and to cultural ways to dealing with them. Much fewer people than we had expected considered a negative attitude to the policy of the party and authorities and lack of faith in the possibility of improving the situation to be the cause of their indifference; and more people than we had anticipated expressed the view that we are not determined enough in reckoning with past mistakes and that we are not capable of securing social justice.

"And one more thing. People from one divisional organization, in which there were more indifferent members than anywhere else, said that they do not come to meetings, because they do not give them anything. The problems of the division and interpersonal matters were not discussed there, but general subjects were read from brochures."

Worker, member of the party since 1957:

"Yes, it is true that I am indifferent and I recently have not been attending meetings. There is nothing interesting there. The political matters are better explained on television and radio, I can read about it in newspapers. In the past our own problems were discussed and now there is nothing. Nothing about the problems of living conditions because these belong to the unions and they should not be substituted nor put under pressure; and the economic affairs are for the self-government bodies to discuss.

"I have nothing against the party, I did not return my membership card when I was disappointed with Gierek, I held out when they painted black crosses or red stars on my locker. Then party membership required some attitude. I do not intend to leave, I would even be active--as before--if something began to happen again..."

Head of ROPP [Regional Center for Party Work]:

"We have most candidates for conversations in those communes where the KGs [Communal Committee] do not work very well. And, except for some instances, these are not single cases, but whole groups from specific villages. Sometimes it is even difficult to get them to come and talk.

"What comes out of these conversations? Different things. Often complaints--against the authorities because they did not allocate machines--against the head of the commune because he did not settle properly the problems of the KSR [Agricultural Circles' Cooperative] or of the GS [Commune Cooperative]. Thus local problems and not national political evaluations are given much more frequently as the causes of indifference. General political evaluations are given in places where there is apparent hostile activity and, I must emphasize this again, these are much less numerous cases than those of local conflicts and complaints. What is the conclusion? I believe that we should act in a way that would allow the local organizations to actually do something to improve the situation instead of just complaining."

Member of WKKP [Provincial Party Control Committee], participant in the conversations:

"I often heard the statement: What does the party give me... But it did not always mean the same... For if someone believed that because of being a member of the party he should be the first to be allocated a tractor, attractive goods or some decoration, then one immediately felt like suggesting that he should return his membership card; after all party membership mainly means that one is the first in assuming obligations and in action. But others said this: How does the party help me feel that I participate in managing the village, the commune or some institution that is important for the people; so that the SKR works better, so that there is less waste in the GS warehouses, so that tools, construction materials and goods are distributed more evenly?"

"And this is where a wider problem begins. It is not individual members that are indifferent, but whole organizations are passive and helpless."

Individual farmer, 36, activist of a youth organization in the past:

"I am not against the party, or our authorities. On the contrary--I try to manage the farm in a way that would be most advantageous not only to myself, but also to the state. I underwrote 10 hundredweights of grain and I sold 16. Now I am developing meat production. I have delivered 18 hogs and I have not asked for imported fodder. You can check that in the Communal Office. But I stopped attending meetings, because they either repeat over and over again what was said on television or their own complaints that have not been settled for the last 5 years. I cannot afford the time for this--if you have a farm like mine each moment is important. Especially as those who plan the work have no idea about farming. And so the meetings are always called when there is most work to be done.

"I was willingly active in the youth organization, because there were more attractive forms there--parties, an artistic ensemble--this gave a lot of joy. If something turned for the better in our village party organization, I would probably come back..."

There were a number of conversations like this. It seems that the content of the majority of them allows for drawing several important conclusions.

The effects of the great breakdown in 1980, of the fierce antiparty campaign in the period of 1980-81 and of the present moral pressure of the opponents of socialism are still a moral source of indifference on the part of a certain fraction of party members, but it is a clearly decreasing phenomenon. Instead, the problem of certain "secondary" indifference appeared, connected with apparent lack of activity on the part of some organizations, which cannot adapt to the new situation and adjust the scope of their work to the expectations and aspirations of their members. Also insufficient ideological work can be seen clearly. The argument that "at the meetings we hear the same things as on television or in the press," appeared too often in the conversations.

In few cases the cause of indifference lies in the realization that party membership does not lead to privileges and preference in obtaining positions, various commodities, distinctions, decorations--these people should be purged as quickly as possible. But there are also cases of justified bitterness, resulting from injustices suffered in the recent period, perfunctory and erroneous decisions which, even if they cannot be reversed, should at least be properly evaluated.

It is good that the struggle against the phenomenon of indifference in the party started by talking to people. Every action should begin like this. It is now time for conclusions and their implementation.

Board on Implementation of Party Recommendations

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 3 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by kuz]

[Text] (Our own communication) Another session of the Executive Board of KW PZPR took place last Wednesday on the first of this month. The main point on the agenda was the evaluation of advances in the implementation of motions from the Provincial Conference on Reports-Programs of PZPR and from the plenary sessions of the KW as well as from the session of the Executive Board in the first quarter of this year. Also motions reported by lower echelons and POPs were evaluated and some answers were discussed.

The Executive Board has expressed its appreciation to the employees of the Political-Organizational Department of the KW for thorough and accurate preparation of materials. In these materials the way motions are formulated as well as the course of action, supervision and monitoring of their implementation were analyzed critically using specific examples. The effects in this field depend considerably on proper work of teams evaluating motions as well as on observing obligatory ascertainment (included among others in the instruction of the CC [Central Committee] of July last year). In the present crisis situation not all the suggestions have a chance to be implemented, so motions should be distinguished from postulates, which ought to be stated in the form of recommendations for future work. Motions, on the other hand, should have a rational and specific character, state and addressee and time of implementation. Attention should also be paid to increasing the speed of working out and qualifying motions, for delays in this field have been noted.

Some 215 motions came to KW PZPR during the first quarter of 1983 from local echelons, most of which (46) concerned improvement and development of services and supplying the countryside with articles for agricultural production and construction materials as well as needs in the field of road and bridge construction (14), amelioration, water supplies for villages and land integration (13).

Many motions also concerned the construction and expansion of educational facilities (21), construction of apartments and improvement of transportation (10 each).

The above mentioned motions have been sent to departments of the KW, the Provincial Office and other units of administration as well as to the CC PZPR. So far answers to 90 percent of motions have been obtained.

The implementation of a number of motions requires capital projects. They are the result of justified needs of specific communities, but due to the present socioeconomic situation there do not always exist possibilities to satisfy them. Hence the times of implementation of some motions are set for the years 1986-90.

The Executive Board of the KW also acquainted itself with the information of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of Auditors, which has recently checked on the advances in the implementation of motions reported to party echelons. To end this point on the agenda a number of provisions were adopted aiming at increasing the efficiency of preparing motions as well as of supervising and monitoring their implementation.

Also motions from the plenary sessions of the KW PZPR on 17 March (on strengthening the principles of law-abiding and social justice) and on 2 May (on present tasks of the party in the field of activating the economy) were discussed.

Members of the Group of Party Councilors of the WRN [Provincial National Council] participated in the second part of the session of the Executive Board. Recognition of the group's active work so far was expressed and present tasks for the councillors were discussed with special emphasis on strengthening their ties with the constituents.

It was said that the motions adopted during the session of the Executive Board on 1 July of this year are still valid. Also new forms of ties with the constituents, adjusted to the present conditions should be introduced, among others the number of meetings should be increased as well as cooperation with groups of PRON [Patriotic Movement for National Revival]. Presidia of national councils together with the managements of local administrations should demonstrate greater activity in organizing meetings, help the councilors in these matters and provide the necessary information materials. There is a special need to improve the councilors' abilities in conducting a dialogue on political and economic subjects. With this aim in view, among other things, periodical meetings of the Secretariat of KW PZPR and of the local echelons with the councilors--members of the party--are indispensable in order to allow joint evaluation of the implementation of party and national councils' resolutions as well as of the sociopolitical and economic situation.

Finally the Executive Board received information on the situation in the field of developing the movement for inventions and the efficiency improvement in the Lublin province; it expressed its appreciation for the

past very useful activity of WKTiR [Provincial Club for Technology and Efficiency Improvement] to the representatives of this organization present at the session (among others, on the occasion of 20th anniversary of WKTiR); the board also assured them that the party will support and help their social movement.

Improvement of Farm Advisory Services

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25-26 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by kuz]

[Text] Another session of the Executive Board of KW PZPR took place yesterday. The main subject of the session was the evaluation of the state of employment and work efficiency of agricultural services.

Information presented by the Department of Agriculture, Food Control and Forestry suggests that a number of people with good professional training work in agricultural advisory services. Some 361 people are employed in the agricultural services of state administration (UG [Communal Offices], UM [City Offices] and UMiG [City and Commune Offices]), 324 people in the Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress in Konskowola, 537 people in plantation and raw materials services of 28 different economic organizations. If we consider the number of farms in the province, there are approximately 87 individual farmers per one employee. Actually this indicator is lower, for the materials presented to the Executive Board do not include the employees of a further dozen or so agricultural institutions, e.g., SZSR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Cooperatives], WZKiR [Provincial Union of Agricultural Circles], WZWet [Provincial Veterinary Science Administration], Regional Chemical-Agricultural Station, POZH [Enterprise for Marketing Breeding Animals], SZiR [Expansion Unknown], cooling plants as well as the services of farmers' associations and associations of plantators.

During a very lively and sometimes controversial discussion it was pointed out that success in such a difficult field as agricultural progress can be achieved only when the forces of all agricultural services and employees of food industry are combined.

The most important task is proper coordination of work of representatives of various services in the territory of a commune. The heads of communes should receive lists of services available in their territories, indicating which farms they are taking care of. Also the principle of periodical meetings of these services should be adopted.

The Executive Board advised the Lublin governor to carry out an analysis of the situation in individual sections of agricultural, plantation and raw materials services that would include a check on the effects of their work. Whenever possible steps should be undertaken to substitute

persons that are not professionally prepared by graduates from the Agricultural Academy and by agricultural technicians. It was also stated that the director of WOPR [Provincial Center for Agricultural Progress] and the heads of other units should verify, in cooperation with village self-governments, the cadre of instructors working in a given commune.

Moreover, it was postulated that scholars (AR [Agricultural Academy], IUNG [Expansion Unknown], Veterinary Science Institute) should be engaged more extensively in providing instruction for both farmers and the employees of the agricultural and raw materials services. The first signals of newly employed persons giving up jobs in WOPR show that not everyone can adapt to the new conditions.

Consequently it was postulated that newly employed persons should remain under the supervision of experienced agricultural instructors during the first year of work.

Also many suggestions were put forth concerning the improvement of social and living conditions as well as accommodation and of the principles of awarding bonuses to the employees of agricultural services.

The Executive Board of KW also received information on the activity of employees' self-governments and it expressed its views on the proposed socioeconomic plan of the province for the years 1983-85 (this plan will be the subject of a session of WRN on 5 July this year). Also materials for the session of KW PZPR were discussed, the subject of which was defined in the slogan, "Active participation of party members as a condition for the reconstruction of the authority of PZPR."

Plenum on Increasing Party Buildup

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 1 Jul 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by leg]

[Text] (Our own communication) Half a year that elapsed from the reporting campaign in the party has allowed the Lublin provincial party organization to find the answer to the question: What are the ways to influence efficiently the consciousness of the society, how to reconstruct the authority of our party, its leading role?

This problem became the subject of a plenary session of KW PZPR in Lublin on 30 June of this year. The report of the Executive Board of KW, delivered by the secretary of KW, comrade Tadeusz Borszynski analyzed the activities of the Lublin organization in view of the program resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of PZPR. Activities of basic organizations as well as of all the echelons in the field of strengthening the ideological, political and organizational unity of the party and increased activity in the struggle with indifference, opportunism and alien influences were analyzed.

While acknowledging gradual progress in these fields and growing consolidation and activization of the party, the report evaluated critically many weaknesses and shortcomings that still exist.

The work of a number of communal echelons and passive basic organizations, which do not fulfill their tasks, was pointed out as a weakness. Much attention was devoted to the analysis of the causes of indifference on the part of some members of the party who do not fulfill even the minimum of their statute obligations--paying contributions and participating in the meetings of POP.

The role of individual party tasks was specially emphasized in this connection. It was said that it was actually in those organizations which did not assign such tasks or treated them formally that the indifference of members and even of whole groups was much more apparent than in organizations which treated these matters with due attention.

Also the need for fuller commitment of party members in the activities of various other organizations and associations--the trade unions, the Patriotic Movement for National Revival and other forms of social activity was emphasized.

Several important problems were pointed out, such as:

- The need for more even division of party obligations.
- Expansion of party membership by drawing the best people, those enjoying authority--especially in the workers' community.
- Concentration of the assistance of provincial echelons on the weaker, less active organizations in order to fight their shortcomings.
- Stimulating greater self-government in the work of party organizations.
- Development of work with the activists, secretaries and executive boards of party organizations to provide them with better assistance.

After the report was delivered a lively discussion took place, in which the following people took part:

Jan Zwikowski - member of the Executive Board of the City Committee from Pulawy, Gabriel Sekula, secretary of a factory committee of PZPR, FLT Krasnik, Ryszard Skubiszewski - foreman, specialist electrician, member of KW, Marian Mitura - First Secretary of KG [Commune Committee] Niedzwiada, Marian Gil - member of KW, Teodor Kloc - president of the Trade Union of Metallurgical Workers in Lublin, Eugeniusz Pyc - president of WKR Lublin, Mikolaj Korolko - pensioner, party activist, Andrzej Mecinski 0 first secretary of the City Committee in Lublin, Kazimierz Bryk 0 member of the Interparty Committee, Jerzy Goldek - first secretary of the City-Commune Committee of PZPR Naleczow, Boleslaw Jakubczyk - FSC

[Truck Factory] Lublin, Eugeniusz Tkaczyk - first secretary of the Factory Committee of PZPR in a construction enterprise, Tadeusz Jasinski - writer, Zbigniew Papek - LZW, Jan Mazurkiewicz - member of KW, secretary of KMG [City Commune Committee] in Bychawa, Jan Skoromowski - first secretary of the Factory Committee of PZPR in FSC.

At the end of the discussion the floor was taken by Witold Gadomski, deputy head of the Socio Organizational Department of CC.

The discussion concentrated around two main subjects--the conditions of party activity and current political and economic problems.

It was emphasized that expectant, passive attitudes of some party members, members of managements of some factories and representatives of the administration seem to be more visible on the background of progress in the field of normalization. The need for consistent checking of the implementation of adopted resolutions and assigned tasks was pointed out. Much attention was devoted to the problems of new trade unions and other organizations.

The most important problems were summarized in the resolution adopted by the plenum. Lists of motions and postulates put forth by the participants of the plenum, which are to be implemented by the Executive Board and the Secretary of KW were added to the resolution.

In the field of organizational matters the plenum of KW accepted comrade Maciej Stobnicki's resignation from the membership of the Executive Board of KW. Comrade Edward Kogutowski was suspended in the rights of member of KW. The plenum ended by singing the "Internationale".

Status of Lublin Socioeconomic Developments

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 1 Jul 83 p 2

[Article by jan]

[Text] (Our own communication) During yesterday's session of the Executive Board of KW PZPR in Lublin the position of the Committee for Economic Development and Economic Reform of KW on the socioeconomic plan of the province was discussed again. This position is the expression of acceptance for the chosen priorities in the economic policy of the province as conforming with the directions outlined in the resolutions of the province conference on reports--elections and reporting conference of PZPR.

Due to restrictions on capital investments the committee drew attention to the need for continued pressure for their increase, especially with respect to such tasks as: the construction of KLZW, protection of the environment, the construction of clinical facilities for medicine,

education and culture. The committee expressed concern about the fact that the needs in the field of expansion of sources of heat and water have not been taken into consideration in the plan for construction industry which, presumably, will show a high rise of efficiency in apartment construction.

Apart from this, the position of the committee emphasized the need for efficient utilization of small capital means and for supplementing the presented outline of the socioeconomic plan with an information part concerning the economic and investment intentions as well as shaping economic relations. This would allow for a complex comparison of the economic intentions of the province and the National Socioeconomic Plan.

During yesterday's session of the Executive Board concern was also expressed that the number of places in houses of social care will not increase in the nearest future and that the needs of special education will not be satisfied. The Lublin governor Tadeusz Wilk and president of the Provincial Planning Committee, Boguslaw Nowacki, attending the meeting were also asked to what degree the socioeconomic plan of the province was correlated with the resolutions of the 9th Extraordinary Congress of PZPR.

The Lublin governor and the president of the Provincial Planning Committee answered questions and doubts. They also informed the session about attempts undertaken to increase the speed of implementing capital projects which are specially important for the province. As the governor said, in view of restricted possibilities, one can only speak of alternative solutions. Although no one is undermining the rationality of the presented remarks and motions, they can be implemented only at the cost of other equally important projects.

Following these explanations and information the Executive Board of KW PZPR adopted the position of the committee for Economic Development and Economic Reform of KW as its own.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Problems of Lublin Trade Unions

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by jag: "Problems of Lublin Trade Union Organizations"]

[Text] A Meeting With Provincial Authorities

A meeting where the immediate problems arising as a result of professional trade union activity were discussed, took place yesterday with more than 60 trade unionists from Lublin's factories participating. The meeting's participants were: Wieslaw Skrzydlo, first secretary party central committee secretaries; and Andrzej Szpringer, the vice-governor of Lublin.

There are currently 422 trade union organizations, which comprise of more than 60,000 workers, active in Lublin. In the 650 plants which can have trade unions, 553 have either already established them or have undertaken the preparations for their establishment.

It was emphasized yesterday at the meeting that the resolution of the party central committee's 10th plenum, echelons and party organizations should guarantee the independence and autonomy of the trade unions.

W. Skrzydlo stated that members of branch and Solidarity unions were active in many trade union organizations. This will definitely facilitate an integration of workers.

Professor Grzegorz Leopold Seidler, vice-chairman of the Provincial Informational and Advisory Team on matters of the Provincial People's Council on Trade Unions [ZZ PWRN] in Lublin, presented the immediate tasks of the professional trade unions, which should concentrate their efforts on:
1. Concerns of the workforce, 2. raising the effectiveness of management in the enterprise, 3. the consolidation of the socialist system in our state.

The representatives of the provincial trade union organization in Lublin spoke about everyday problems in their activities. Conflicts between

workers' autonomy and the trade union are arising in many factories. Enterprise administrations do not come together with the trade unionists; they do not facilitate the settlement of the unionists' affairs. Opponents of the new unions in certain centers are hampering the efforts of those, who are active in the trade union organizations, and are even causing material damage to the economy, people and units. The issue of having party organizations come to the aid of the unions was also brought up.

Almost all the speakers reported on the creation of supraplant structures to which unions either belong or will soon belong. The participation of young people in the trade union movement can cause concern, inasmuch as the current members of the active organization are above all people "over 30."

New Trade Union Federations

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 27 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article: "New Federations of Professional Trade Unions Are Coming Into Being"]

[Text] Railwaymen, Heating Plant Workers, Printers and Health Service Workers

Almost everyday provides information on the activities of trade union organizations concerning the establishment of supraplant organizations. As they grow stronger, the trade union organizations already feel distinctly the need to overcome the barriers in factories and represent working interests more completely than current conditions permit.

On the 25th of this month a meeting took place in Katowice with more than 200 representatives from the plant trade union elements of the enterprises and organizational units of the State Polish Railroad's [PKP] nationally network. Representatives from around 400 plant trade union organizations, comprising 75,000 workers in the PKP, declared themselves in favor of a federation of the supraplant organization of railwaymen's professional trade unions by voting for it after the discussion. A working team was appointed which will work on the preparation of materials and documents necessary for the organization of a supraplant trade union structure. The team is made up of representatives from 8 nationally active PKP districts.

On the 24th of this month, a national meeting of the representatives of professional trade unions active in the printer industry's plants took place in order to set up a Founding Committee of the Professional Trade Union of Printer Industry Workers. Fundamental documents were ratified; these are necessary for the registration process of the trade union and the acquisition of the vote of the State Council; both of these formalities will permit the soonest commencement of legal union activity.

The plenipotentiary representatives of 48 printer trade unions passed a resolution on the establishment of a Professional Trade Union of Printer Industry Workers and voted for a trade law.

In Bydgoszcz, there was a meeting of the representatives of 25 out of 28 nationally registered professional trade unions of heat energy workers, during which a Founding Committee of an all-Polish Trade Union Federation for this group of workers was appointed. Wieslaw Siewierski from Bydgoszcz was elected chairman. At the same time, Bydgoszcz is to remain the future headquarters of a trade union federation of heat plant workers.

During the meeting, the projected federation law, which, after it has been accepted by the State Council, will be presented to the Supreme Court, was agreed upon.

The representatives of the professional trade unions from health service centers from all over the country completed a meeting in Katowice. After 2 days of discussion, the representatives declared themselves in favor of the concept to set up a National Federation of Trade Unions of Health Protection Workers.

Three hundred sixty-five plant trade union organizations are active in Poland's centers dedicated to the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare.

Supraplant Structures in Light Industry

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 28 Jun 83 p 4

[Article by L.: "Supraplant Structure in Light Industry"]

[Text] Discussions on the future form of a "supraplant" structure, still picking its way through, are going on in many centers of light industry. Besides Lodz, one of the main centers of activity moving in this direction is Zielona Gora. Almost all professional trade unions from the textile, clothing and leather industries are participating in this activity.

Three meetings have already taken place. We informed our readers in the columns of the newspaper Gazeta Lubuska about the first of these meetings where it was determined that two centers where the work will be concentrated are the Polish Welna Textile Industry Plant in Zielona Gora and the Poltops Textile Industry Plant Zaganska Czesalinia. One of the principles resolved at this meeting was the concept of setting up such a structure in which every union located with existing individual plants would maintain its independence and legal status.

The fruit of the second meeting was an agreement on the issue of joint legal services concluded between the administration of the independent, self-governing professional trade unions of light industry in the province of

Zielong Gora. On the strength of this agreement, based on the rules and regulations of professional trade unions, trade union statutes and the rules and regulations on legal councillors and other standardized laws, the Independent, Self-Governing Trade Union [NSZZ], the Polish Welna Textile Industry Plant, acting on behalf of 13 trade unions related to production, concluded an agreement with the legal councillor of trade union legal services which acceded to the agreement.

The full-time councillor obligated himself to spend a specific amount of time in the office of the parent plant, i.e., in the trade union local of the Welna works, specifically on Mondays, Wednesdays and Saturdays, and also on work Saturdays. On the remaining weekdays, he will visit the trade unions in the rest of the province. Professional Trade Unions, taking advantage of legal assistance, can also communicate telephonically with the councillor in his Zielona Gora headquarters when necessary. Compensation for the councillor comes jointly from all trade unions which acceded to the agreement. There is, however, one trade union which did not accede to the agreement; it maintains that the plant legal councillor is so involved in trade union problems that both the union, as well as the unionists, can avail themselves of his services. It was determined that the trade union legal councillor would collect his compensation for his work from the parent union, (especially in Welna), which will settle accounts with those trade unions belonging to the agreement.

Although the agreement took effect on 1 June, the trade union legal councillor, Master Bagna Klich, already has her hands full.

At the third provincial meeting of light industry trade unionists, a particular discussion took place on the projected law on the future of the All-Polish Federation of Light Industry Independent and Self-Governing Professional Trade Unions. It is to include trade unions operating in the following industries: cotton, textile, clothing, wood, felt, and synthetic fabrics; in those plants where technical and haberdashery, silk-decorative and leather goods are produced; and those scientific-research centers working for the ministry of light industry. As a result of current proposals, the Federation is also to be open to the workforces of local industry and the cooperative movement in production related to the specifications of the above-mentioned sectors of the industry.

In the discussion on the projected law, there was talk on the size of the payments for the federation by individual unions, the members of the federation. Various proposals were heard and in conclusion, it was decided before issuing a binding statement to consult with the councils of local trade union centers. Two concepts are basically to be decided. One would make the size of fees dependent on the number of members, whereby it has to be considered that the size of membership fees in the trade unions is not identical. The second concept consists of making the size of contributions

to the federation dependent on the sum of funds coming into the trade union coffers regardless of the size of their memberships.

A proposal was enthusiastically adopted tying the future federation to efforts raising the scope and prestige of the light industry worker in Poland. It was insisted upon that there be binding forms of consultation with the trade unions concerning the more important legal acts affecting the situations of working people. The publishing-production makeup of the "Publication Institute of Professional Trade Unions" was subjected to criticism, as well as certain ministries, e.g., the Ministry of Labor. It was also insisted upon that a series of the basic legislation having significance for everyday trade union activity be immediately issued in massive quantities. The new trade union aktiv most often has enormous difficulties in its attempts to acquire access to the texts of rules, regulations, orders and decrees considerably affecting their everyday affairs. It was stated that trade unionists cannot be "the junior partner" in these matters with various administration services. For this, they need to have the necessary literature. Turning to administrative departments for these documents does not add prestige to the trade unions and is not always effective. The demands and proposals voiced by the Zielona Gora trade unions with light industry plants will be presented at an all-Polish meeting of light industry trade unions; this meeting will take place on 28 June in Lodz.

Rakowski on Trade Unions

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 29 June 83 p 4

[Talk with Vice Premier M.F. Rakowski, by Kazimierz Marcinkowski: "We Need To Believe More in What We Are Doing"]

[Text] A journalist elaboration of the more important questions and answers (not authorized) during a meeting between vice-premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and trade unionists from the H. Cegielski Works Poznan [HCP] and Poznan's largest production centers on 22 June 1983.

[Question] How do you evaluate the current state of the trade union movement in Poland? People know that numerous obstacles and even attacks are a part of its progress.

[Answer] The new trade union movement is a fact and a permanent element of our social life, and it will remain so. This movement is moving forward correctly as it overcomes every kind of difficulty. Perhaps it is not so much the difficulties as the obstacles put up in the path of the trade unionists from every side, above all by those who even today have not renounced their struggle against the existing sociopolitical structure or the new professional trade unions. We still have to deal with the various manifestations of moral and even physical pressure against trade unionists. This is being done by people who speak much about kindness towards one's

neighbor. It seems that this kindness plays false when one prepares a gallows for his work colleague. All the more is it necessary to acknowledge the emphasized stubbornness of many who are establishing the new unions as a proper characteristic. These unions will grow, because they have become a law of life and answer the needs of the working people.

Not only is public opinion interested today in the trade union movement in our country, the whole world is interested in it, not only our friends, but also our opponents. One of these people, who are currently very interested in the Polish trade union movement and speak out in defense of trade union rights, is President Reagan. Indeed, he does not permit professional trade unions to carry out their proper function in his country, but shows an unprecedented concern for the Polish trade union movement; strictly speaking, he is waiting for another trade union movement. One also often hears from there the call that working people in Poland should have the right to band together in professional trade unions. There is only one way to answer this: there is no need to cry, because such a right existed already at the beginning of the Polish People's Republic. And if we look back further into the past, we will see that it was not the capitalists who won this right for the working class, but the workers themselves during the period when capitalism still existed in Poland. Any talk today about a need to comply with the right of working people to form professional trade unions is simply a return to another historic epoch.

We want that our professional trade unions effectively defend the interests of their members and the world of labor and that they simultaneously feel equally responsible for the state and the people's interests. In the recent past, this principle was not generally observed. Even here, in the Cegielski Works, the attitude was demonstrated at a similar meeting 2 years ago that only the government should look after state interests, while working people should restrict themselves solely to making demands.

We are aware of the fact that joint responsibility and action are the way of the future, and in such a sense that only jointly can we create such a structure; we are learning what could be called a partnership. It is a question of time and the accumulation of experience by both the trade union movement and those who have been charged by the Sejm with government duties.

[Question] The Cegielski Works have a great production potential. Often, on the second shift, let alone the third, machines are left inoperative because of a shortage of labor. The standards which the plant proposes to the workers do not compete with Poloma companies or cooperatives, let alone private initiative. Is this closely connected to production problems and the shortage of new workers, especially young ones?

[Answer] The government can express itself on all issues, but its influence on a number of them is limited. And it is limited as a result of the reform of our sociopolitical system. Let us take a look at employment issues. We

have to decide what we want. If we wish for economic laws to operate better in our social life, then we will have to be ready to relocate workers from one plant to another. This would certainly cause great confusion in employment policies in relation to this idea until it is regulated by the employment departments. We can return to these methods later. We only have to twist the head of our economic reform. Self-dependence, autonomy and self-financing. If we agree that economic laws are supposed to decide the level of employment, and wages, then we have to be ready for the resulting consequences, even if they are ugly.

Now the loss of workers to trades and crafts or to Polonia companies. You ask what does the government think of this. It thinks various things. Polonia companies employ 12,000 people in Poland. Employment in the socialized economy numbers more than 12 million. By liquidating the Polonia companies, and that we could do in a single day, we will basically still not solve our problem. Let us say that there are 4,000 specialists who left socialized factories; what would 4,000 mean when here in Cegielski I was told that we need 1,000 people alone? There is another real issue with this request; there are views that Polish industry employs 400,000 people too many. And this is probably true when you stop to think about labor productivity. Other people say that people are escaping to the trades and crafts and that the craftsmen are getting rich. This is true. But we could settle with these trades and crafts also in a day. In regard to this, we have a certain kind of experience from the past. There is only one condition, that the workforces, which complain against the craftsmen, obligate themselves to begin producing tomorrow those thousands of odds and ends which the craftsman turns out, or not to claim that these goods are not available in the marketplace. We can conclude such a public agreement. But what will we have?

Of course, there would be negative consequences in that we would not only have to support these companies and craftsmen in the interest of the national economy from the perspective of the marketplace, but we would also have to be ready for even some distortion which, to be sure, would be extremely bothersome. It would be different if there were no shortage of these goods. In the face of all this, it is necessary to establish the maximumly effective tax system which would hit especially hard in the pocket those with excessive incomes. It would also have to be a system so precise so as not to permit a drip in production by even 0.1 percent. There is no country in the world that gets out of a crisis by simply making appeals, but only by increasing production. In the face of this, we have to exhaust all possibilities, even those with unfavorable side effects, in order to increase and enliven production. It is a fact that under such conditions, a group of sly dogs comes along which knows it does not have much time and makes its killing by various means and efforts not always legal. It is also a fact that times of crisis promote the appearance in people of certain characteristics which normally lie dormant in them; for instance, greed which in a stable economic order would not be evident, becomes apparent.

[Question] Three years ago, TRYBUNA LUDU reported that a total of 3,200 people worked on sheet-cutting and engine assembly, what is this number proportionally to the total number of people employed? Here is our error - it is in the overgrowth of our administration officials, the bureaucracy. What does the government intend to do in order that we be able to gain additional production labor?

[Answer] We hear the call from all quarters: reduce the administration apparatus in all plants. Okay. But how are we to do this? Issue a decree? Should not the plant and workforce take a stand on the question of employment, especially the employment of administration officials? There are those workforces which strongly defend their administration officials. Complain? Yes, they complain, but when it comes to dismissal, then it is no! Or there are ties, or sympathies or 10 other reasons. And what is the government to do?

[Question] Why does our justice system dispense such ludicrously small punishments to speculators?

[Answer] What do you want: an independent system or one which we will have to force to dispense more severe punishments? The former simply implies a breakdown in law and order. There is no doubt that the judge gives such a mild reprimand only because he sympathizes with this or that group or political thinking. But what is the alternative? Dictatorship and terror, where everyone squeals? Then there will be no complaints about mild reprimands. Or democracy. But in a democracy we have to accommodate much which may not be acceptable to many people.

[Question] What does the government intend to do about those who generally shirk their work? We have been told: he who does not work, will not eat. We have the reverse; it seems that he who does not work, lives better. Why haven't decisive steps been taken against these people?

[Answer] There is a parliamentary resolution which is beginning to be effective. The operation of this resolution is tied to an entire process which leads the delinquent to the moment he can be directed to forced labor. This procedure must stand. You cannot grab someone with a beer from in front of a newspaper stand and put him into a camp. That would be an abuse of power. Of course, someone might say: Why play around with this entire procedure? It would be better to throw the chap into a camp right off. Perhaps that would be a very simple solution, but I would not vote for it. Better to set up a system in which the law would be absolutely observed, which there would not be room for abuse, rather than to start mixing in politics which could lead to disorder. It has to accumulate somewhere. This does not imply that the government has to be weak. Anywhere the law permits it, the government should act decisively. Besides, it seems to me that in all of Poland's crucial problems, the government has recently demonstrated repeatedly that it can act consistently. And it must be so. It is one thing for consistency and resoluteness to be where they are indispensable, but the complexity of life is something else. If we could shape society to be similar to a beehive, where the workload is miraculously divided, life

would be wonderful; but this cannot be done. There have been those who tried. All of them lost over the centuries. Beginning with the great Roman Caesars and ending with Hitler. They tried to mold society in their own image and likeness. It did not work.

[Question] The cost of living keeps going up, especially for those who earn little. The working class cannot bear the great costs of a crisis. These costs need to be distributed so that particular social classes be burdened proportionately according to their incomes. What does the government intend to do to protect those who earn little?

[Answer] I would like to conduct a delicate polemic on this view. I earn 35,000 zlotys as a vice-premier. I know that there is a group of workers in Poland, by means few in number, who earn more than 30,000 zlotys. The number of workers who earn more than 20,000 zlotys is rather considerable. We are constantly estimating pensions. But can we start to look at incomes the same way? These are two different things. Should we look at whole families regarding the sum total of their incomes? There are groups in the working class who have it unusually hard, but we will not generalize. When I mentioned at the mills in Katowice that I earn 30,000 zlotys, that was in the fall of last year, one of the millworkers stood up and said: "Comrade premier, don't count yourself among the first 500 of our workers." But this is also reality, and we are not generalizing. On the other hand, the state should concentrate its maximum efforts in helping those who are at or below the poverty level. The state is doing this.

[Question] On the one hand, we have the workers' autonomy; on the other hand, we have the professional trade union. We are running into actions which tend towards autonomy. Such situations produce an indisposition among the aktiv and simultaneously impede the progress of the trade union.

[Answer] We will soon have to critically analyze the trade union law and the law on autonomy and see where what conflicts with what and where any inconsistencies may be. These were inevitable because the laws were made under different circumstances; beyond this, it is also a question of practicality. We are treading on wholly new ground. There is no doubt that the operations of autonomy and the trade unions will be a hotbed of conflicts in many cases. I heard this view from one of the chairpersons of autonomy: "What do we need the professional trade unions for? As a self-government we bear joint responsibility for the plant, while the trade unions advance a number of demands." This is an example of the contradictions which will appear. If they do not result in antagonisms, then we do not have to regard them from the perspective of social progress. This is a new experience and after 1 or 2 years with the new system, we will not succeed in transforming ourselves. Maybe, we can rely on the moderation and good sense of those who will participate in the establishment of the new structures.

[Question] Will Lech Walesa's latest moves be of any consequence for the reborn trade union movement?

[Answer] Walesa is not for the government and will not be a partner. His kind of expectations has to be forgotten. We repeatedly offered Walesa a partnership in 1981. He scoffed at our proposal. He still had a chance to join us in 1982. In answer to our proposal for their participation in the discussion of how the trade union movement should look, the people around Walesa, and he himself, answered with the establishment of underground organizations. This cancelled the possibility of regarding Walesa seriously. He is a man, and not the first in history, who has been consumed by arrogance. We will, however, consistently support the reborn trade union movement and there is no room even on the side for us as the government of Polish People's Republic to meet with Walesa. There is no doubt that he has been the target of unprecedented manipulation. After all, he constantly seeks to keep Poland in a state of turmoil. As before, certain gentlemen in the West would like to see nothing better than a Poland constantly in turmoil, because this is a part of President Reagan's anticommunist strategy. And every reasonable person in the West knows this. U.S. news media are concentrating exclusively on proving that Poland is still in disorder and confusion. There is an opinion being consciously and cynically created that Poland is a country where an explosion must take place.

Instead of a Summary

The Pole is often looking for causes which he himself cannot handle somewhere abroad. This is our nature. And I know that this truth is not acceptable to everyone. But let the thinking part of our people, the working class, see this. The metalworkers from Cegielski, who are also a part of this class, are its spearhead. Let at least these people think reasonably about this. Because people from Solidarity have also been aroused here for action. And who from the West would really help if it came to bloodshed here? They would sing their sad songs as they have done so often, and be ready to move new granite into place for monuments. And that would be it. That is the way it always happens. There have always been those who could find the crazy ones among us who would listen to them.

Anyone who has not become obstinate has to admit that we have taken a major step forward in the past year. Slowly, to be sure, but we are getting out of this crisis and we can get out. Even if formerly it was difficult for us in many cases and situations. More broadly put, I did not imagine that after the imposition of martial law we would get out of this jam so quickly. I thought that we would have to expend more time to reach the position we have today. The state is again on its feet, no longer shaking and prone to such shocks. And it enjoys the support of its allies. In a word, our balance from 13 December, which was inevitable, is now favorable for us. The road we are travelling is good. We have formidable production strength even here in Cegielski. We will use it, if not today, then tomorrow. There is progress and we are paying for it, but any progress costs. We need, however, more faith in what we are doing and in our chances.

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Trade Unions From Eyes of Unionists

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 13 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Stanislaw Sikora: "The Trade Unions in the Eyes of the Unionists"]

[Text] The number of members in the trade unions in Koszalin Province is systematically growing. As previous experience has shown, persons entering the new unions do so with more forethought, carefully considering what these organizations are doing for workcrews and how they are implementing their charters and declarations. The gradual growth of union membership attests to the positive assessment that union activities have received.

The quick return of labor unions and their authentic participation in plant life is of lively interest to the party. In the Politburo's report to the Twelfth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, we read: "The party and the labor unions are united by common class interests and the uniquely understood principle of social justice. The union organizations are the advocates of the rights and professional interests of the general workforce, important elements of self-managing enterprises, instruments of social control that shape a healthy attitude toward work, professional ethics and preservation of principles of social coexistence."

The Koszalin Provincial PZPR Committee Executive Board, reviewing the situation of the provincial union movement in a session on the third of this month, stated that the party organizations should create a political and social climate favorable to the creation of new unions, their strengthening and the broadening of forms and methods of activity to support workers. As of 31 May 1983, 44,359 workers were members of labor unions in Koszalin Province, that is, 33 percent of the total workforce in plants where the unions are active. In 93 percent of work sites in which labor unions may, in accordance with the Sejm's law, come into being, 331 registered union organizations (with 45 organizations under review for registration by the Provincial Court) are active along with initiative groups and founding committees.

What are the motivations of workers joining the new unions and what are those of persons remaining on the sidelines? What is the most important thing in the activities of the new unions? What are the effects of those activities? Recently, the Division of Propaganda and Agitation of the Koszalin PZPR Provincial Committee conducted a poll on this subject among a group of 124 worker activists who are at a training center in Mielno for union-related coursework. The purpose of the poll was to obtain opinions on the functions, activity, problems and initiatives of Koszalin Province labor unions. It is worth pointing out that a relatively large portion of the poll's respondents (35 percent) did not belong to labor unions. The decided majority of those polled (73 percent) said that they had joined the labor unions because they wished to actively participate in plant and union life. Some 12 percent of the respondents gave as their main reason the desire to enter the organizations' leadership and a small percentage was attracted by the charter benefits but had no interest in involvement in union work.

Persons responding that they did not belong to a union justified this with the following motives: it is still too early to join a union; they will join the union after it has been registered; they do not trust unions; no "inner conviction" of the value of unions due to the revealed injustices in union activities both before and after August 1980; they do not see "any positive arguments for them to join a union." However, the decided majority (69 percent) of nonunion members are the "undecided", those persons who will join the unions so long as they do not have to "take a risk" or "stand out."

To the question of what should be the dominant function of the new unions, the majority of respondents (86 percent) said that it should be defensive; 18 percent were for economic and social activity and 11.5 percent for an educative role. The remainder did not have any particular views regarding the question. What sort of matters do the newly-formed union organizations involve themselves with as their main interests? Some 58 percent of those polled mentioned social and existential problems and offered a series of concrete examples: the provision of material aid, verification of worker pay according to seniority, analysis of profits and premiums allotments on the job, assistance to workers for the construction of single-family dwellings, assessment of the employee housing situation, control of the dispensal of social funds, monitoring of work conditions, seeing to the provision to workers of protective clothing, proper work equipment, and work safety and health conditions, the organization of various forms of recreation, etc., 20 percent of the respondents considered the unions' most important achievements in their plants to be the organizations' positive influences upon improvement of personnel relations, solving conflicts, and settling worker disputes. Among the most frequently mentioned examples of the new unions' activities was their effective intervention to defend workers that have been wronged by the plant managements. There are, however, few young people in the new unions. In the opinion of those polled, 10-25 percent of the workers at their plants were young.

In spite of the deceitful opinions of the political opposition and of western subversion, the new unions are not dominated by party members. PZPR members among the overall number of unionists amounts to just 37 percent or, to put it another way, 28 percent of the overall PZPR membership in Koszalin Province belong to the unions.

When a certain number of new members has been reached on the job, this makes the further development of the union ranks easier and the climate among the workers is also livelier. It is very characteristic of the new labor unions to be successfully integrating workcrews which were only recently very divided.

Trade Unions Joining Federations

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 21 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by H. Jelec: "To Be With the Workers' Causes: Independently and With the Federation"]

[Text] It is a known thing that the federation does not deal with typically internal plant affairs. On the other hand, it is also known that the union organization of even such large plants as the Zdzieszowice Coking Plant (with a workforce of over 4,000 persons, 860 of which are members of the plant's NSZZ) is unable to negotiate matters concerning the entire industry on the so-called higher levels.

Unionists at the Zdzieszowice Coking Plant belonged to the founding committee of the recently formed Federation of Steelworkers' Labor Unions. Joachim Korzenski, chairman of the union's administration in the Zdzieszowice Coking Plant, participated in preliminary work for the registration of the federation and also for the first congress of its members. Among some of the other work demanding a great deal of effort, he mentioned the problem of the new collective arrangement on which the plant regulations were supposed to be based as well as the problem of steelworkers' cards. These matters have already been referred to the Ministry of Metallurgy Engineering Industry by the founding committee.

The founding committee has also been able to report on the realization of demands previously presented by the former branch unions and Solidarity. These demands have been acknowledged and endorsed by the present union organizations. The fact cannot be hidden that those persons who were supposed to be complying with these wishes were brushing off the unionists with vague information. J. Korzenski recalls that, for example, when an old matter required review by the authorities of another department, the Ministry of Metallurgy then referred the demand, for example, to the Ministry of Finance which then entered the affair as "implemented" in its

books. Therefore, the matter would remain continually unhandled. This was not the way that things were supposed to be done, nor was it a matter of writing certificates about what the department had done or tried to do. What was needed was factual, current reporting on the situation and a statement of how much has been done to implement these demands. Unfortunately, the answer was not a satisfactory one. This was mirrored in documents prepared by the federation's congress at the beginning of June; however, there was presented the demanded picture of the situation and this should form a basis for union activities.

Will the federation stand up to the hopes that are placed upon it? At this time, no one can answer this question with any certainty but it is known that if it proves to be a disappointment, dissatisfied organizations may withdraw from the federation at any time. The mobilizing factor for carefully controlling federation activities and serving the particular autonomous union organizations within it is that of money (10 percent of the member unions' funds) paid into the federation by the plant unions. Therefore, it can be said for the time being that the federation is under censure and that it is being observed by both the unionists themselves as well as by those who are still considering whether or not they will join the organization.

The greatest number of workers had joined the union at the Zdzieszowice Coking Plant by 28 May, which was the deadline for accepting those who had not yet decided. If anyone enters the organization after that date, he will not be able to enjoy its benefits at once. Applications for membership are no longer of a group nature: subsequent candidates are entering the union individually. Some people were attracted to the organization by the fact that the union intervened for them despite their nonmembership. This was the case with bonus allotments which was corrected at the recommendation of the union. Of course, every individual case had to be closely reviewed and not every intervention was favorably settled. The union intervened on the issue of bonuses for the entire crew. Some of the workers for whom the union successfully intervened later joined the organization while those whose cases were not favorably settled remained nonmembers. Pro- and anti-union sentiments distributed along just those lines. The union must deal with the latter group frequently, mainly, according to union administration members, due to various widespread falsehoods.

The distribution of coupons for various industrial products that the plant occasionally receives are a particular source of misunderstanding and suspicion. For example, there were 7 personal automobiles (awarded by the department of steel industry) for 64 applications that had been submitted. Whatever way the cars are distributed it will always be unfair. Since the idea of handling such cases by plant lottery was never accepted, the applications were thus reviewed division by division and biased recommendations were making their way into the commission, which has just one union representative. Dissatisfaction with commission decisions burdens the union

organization most severely. They now have four washing machines and they will probably be sent to the divisions that did not receive cars.

The union has still not had to intervene in cases of workers being dismissed but it has recommended the reduction of penal service a few times. These are all matters that we know can only be disposed within the plant and that cannot be the subject of the federation's actions. There is still another plant problem that requires the union's attentions and that is the Zdzieszowice Coking Plant's position within the Katowice Steel Industry Complex. At the first general delegate assembly, the unionists supported the recommendation made by the Plant Committee Executive Board on pursuing the autonomy of the Zdzieszowice Coking Plant. This matter is presently being disposed.

Party, Trade Unions in Construction Industry

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Bogdan Miller: "Party and Trade Unions in Industrial Construction"]

[Text] When a discussion on a plant thrift and anti-inflation program at a meeting of the basic party organization at the Olsztyn Industrial Construction Enterprise went into matters of motivational benefits or just extra money for people, the chairman of the workers' council, Stanislaw Kuczynski felt compelled to speak out:

"Excuse me comrades, but we seem to be contradicting ourselves. On one hand we are talking about an anti-inflation program, increasing output and improving the relationship between pay increases and increases in output, and on the other hand we are talking about benefits and putting money into savings. We cannot realize a program in this way. One more thing: the entire set of enterprises that have been presented to us here, from making better use of work time to putting some of the administration personnel into the production line, from establishing work standards, etc., to lowering transportation and materials costs, may only be effective when they become systematically implemented. For that reason I would like to recommend that the resolution passed by today's meeting include a statement that the PZPR Plant Committee will be monitoring the realization of the adopted program."

On the subject of cooperation between the party and labor unions at the Olsztyn Industrial Construction Enterprise, I spoke with Rajmund Bagniewski, first secretary of the Plant Committee, and with S. Kuczynski:

[Question] Was the union's opinion reflected in the resolution?

[R. Bagniewski] Of course, and not only the union's. After all, comrade Kuczynski is a member of our party organization. Today's example is just one of the elements of our constant daily cooperation. As the party, we have accepted for ourselves the role of an opinionmaking and inspiring organization. We cannot and do not want to force our views. Indeed, we listen very carefully to what the workers say on the subject of the organization's function and if we have to, we pass our observations on to our comrades, the unionists. Besides, we discuss and take up areas where our interests overlap to show our sincerity. A departure meeting of the plant council took place in the so-called plant hinterlands: the warehouse, transportation division, etc. A meeting was held with the director and the full workcrew. As party secretary, I took part. On the other hand, when we organized a departure session of the plant committee executive board on an unusually difficult job in Olsztyn, the union chairman took part. These are not single cases but the effect of a well-understood partnership.

[Question] Is the union's opinion on the subject of cooperation and joint management in the enterprise similar to the party's?

[S. Kuczynski] Let me answer that question in this manner: there hasn't been a situation and I am convinced that there never will be one where the party secretary tells me what I have to do or forces his own point of view on me. Indeed, we ourselves sometimes present our own affairs to the forum of the party organization. We discuss things and work out a common position. It sometimes even turns out that we cannot reach an agreement and then the director has to make a decision.

We feel that the party is our partner and, as I see things now, we are in a similar position. We are reconstructing ourselves as a union, whereas the party is regaining credibility and the public's faith. People are looking at what we do.

Much depends on the effectiveness of our actions. Here is a simple example: a worker came to me with a concrete matter whose paperwork had already been on file for some time. Neither the branch unions nor Solidarity had done anything about it. I suspect that it just got lost in the deluge of other activities. Meanwhile, two hours were all that was needed to dispose of the matter. Today, that same worker is a member of our union.

We have based our activity on union groups and men of trust with whom we regularly meet. We evaluate their work and activity and they refer matters to us. There were two cases of personnel changes. One of the workers, himself a party activist, asked to be dismissed from his function as a confidant for reasons of lack of time to devote to additional responsibilities. We dismissed another one ourselves because we felt that he was simply not meeting our expectations and those of the workers.

Normal union work for people takes up most of our time: vacations, camps, summer camps, housing loans, MM credits and all the other social concerns. Where necessary, we also act to defend workers' interests. In three cases, we opposed disciplinary dismissals. In a few other cases, we supported the dismissals. Above all, those cases concerned drinking on the job and control of alcoholism is a part of our program.

Returning to the subject of party meetings, we as a union with a presented thrift and anti-inflation program became acquainted with and, a few days ago, conveyed our observations on that topic. With satisfaction, I must say that they are covered by today's assessment. Thus, the greatest emphasis should be placed on the quality of work. We must define tasks more concisely in measurable form and search for methods of obtaining a decided improvement in the process of organizing and preparing for production. I feel that, together, we are executing these tasks that the administration has set for us."

To sum things up, the union, after a careful start, is more actively taking part in the life of the enterprise. After all, it must be admitted that this has been made possible by the decidedly positive response of the administration and the party organization, of course. The effectiveness of prudent defense of the workers' interests within the bounds of the actual possibilities of both the enterprise and the national economy depend on a proper and social-oriented approach to the problems that have been discussed.

Assessments, Views of Unionists

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 2

[Article by M.K.: "Public Consultation on Housing Program in Bydgoszcz Province: Unionists' Assessments and Opinions"]

[Text] A session of the Bydgoszcz Provincial Peoples' Council on a topic of great social importance is coming up. The Provincial Council is to decide upon a program of housing construction in Bydgoszcz Province for the years 1983-85 as well as 1986-1990. Before the session, the program outline is going to be discussed within various communities. Yesterday, such a consultation was held with a group representing the labor unions. The host of the meeting was the governor of Bydgoszcz Province, Edward Molik.

The unionists acknowledged that the program outline does not meet entirely the public housing needs of the province. They expressed their regret at this, but they understood that the program has been defined in terms of the possibilities of the current economic crisis.

The unionists' observations were in three basic areas--optimal use of the current possibilities, preservation and wise management of housing resources and fair distribution of new apartments.

In the opinion of the unionists, there are still reserves of housing that have not been fully exploited. In the existing regulations (which are supposed to be modified very soon), there are no greater possibilities for plant construction since the material and financial resources are lacking. During discussion, the opponents of this sort of construction spoke out. They felt that an industrial plant should concentrate its attention on production (the Romet ZR [expansion unknown] labor union). However, less radical viewpoints were the dominant ones.

The chairman of the ZNTK [Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Plant] labor union feels that the plants could take up more labor-intensive detailing work, helping their employees that receive a housing allotment. A variant of plant construction was also pointed out: the plant takes over from the construction enterprises any unfinished surplus housing and has its own specialists finish the work. The construction industry would have to supply the building materials and their unionists have warned that a big shortage of those materials is presently looming over the industry.

There have been various approaches to the problem of developing construction of single-family housing. Some unionists gave their full support to such construction and others felt that it mainly fulfills the needs of that group of workers having greater financial resources.

The chairman of the labor union at the ZR Eltra pointed out the necessity of further and energetic continuation of actions to obtain office facilities and the rebuilding of attic space.

Some rather sharp criticism was addressed at the administrations of several housing cooperatives in Bydgoszcz for their poor management of new housing resources. It has been the case that high-rises built 15-20 years ago tend to be subject to quick deterioration due to their improper care, lack of systematic cleaning and limited maintenance. The unionists acknowledged that the program's planning for repair and preservation of older housing resources is very proper.

The unionists' observations will be reflected in the report by the Bydgoszcz governor to the Provincial Peoples' Council.

Party, Trade Unions in Industry

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by Bogdan Miller: "Party and Trade Unions in Ketrzyn Plant"]

[Text] At the Warmia Clothing Industry Plants in Ketrzyn, women form the strong majority of workers. There is also nothing strange about the fact that the bulk of matters taken up by the party and the labor unions is subordinated to the needs of these women.

At a general assembly of the union in February of this year, the matter of creating possibilities of work for women on unemployment benefits or unpaid vacations was discussed. Indeed, this is a case of 270 persons able to perform additional production while remaining at home. The plant management caught the idea. Appropriate conditions were established so that not only women employed outside of the plant but also those that are employed there daily may still take work home to be done after hours.

The union and party made a joint appeal that this form of small-scale production be taken up. Persons were even delegated to go from house to house and present these attractive proposals. Why has it somehow not caught on? "People don't seem to want the money now," said the organizational secretary of the basic party organization, Teresa Szlempo. However, 270 women is almost an entire shift, after all. The effect is such that the upcoming basic party organization meetings will be dedicated to necessary correction of the plan due to a production increment which is two percent lower than planned.

Of course, effective methods for attracting workers to the plant are being looked into. The union chairman, Wanda Bartoszewicz, gives some concrete examples. The so-called 01 team was set up for those women who absolutely have to work on the first shift. Besides, this team joined the newly-formed union organization almost in its entirety and was the first to do so.

"Following stormy discussions, we arrived at the conviction," recalls W. Bartoszewicz, "that it is after all up to us whether the union be our union and that we must work together so that we aren't pushed away from the positions due us.

"Recently, as representatives of the work staff, we took part in the preparation and formulation of a thrift and anti-inflation program. We are participating in a review of indirectly productive positions that resulted from this program. We are just looking for reserves that can be put into production. Besides, our time is taken up with normal union work, concern for work and wage conditions, social security and our upcoming summer vacation campaign.

"We work closely with the party every day. After all, at the party meetings, our rent affairs and problems bothering people are discussed. We note these very carefully and take up action on those that pertain to us. For example, we received a call from below, from the production line, that one of the operations there was not paying enough. We looked into this and found that we really had to approach the plant management about having the wages changed. The matter has now been solved.

"We are preparing for next year's observances of the plant's twenty-fifth anniversary. This is a small example of how the plant management takes

account of our union. In the chief director's order calling up an organizational committee for the anniversary, there was an invitation for participation by all of the social and political organizations, including us. Of course, we would join in work to prepare for our anniversary, but it is always pleasant to be recognized. As they say, it's a small thing, but it gladdens. And next year's anniversary events promise to be unusually attractive."

First secretary of the basic party organization, Elzbieta Litwinowicz, assesses mutual cooperation: "From the start we have tried to meet the role of partner to the union, at most, to inspire certain actions. That is easier for us to do since we know everyone here quite well and understand our women's problems. It is hard to talk properly about our own activity other than to say that it is done and that's all. It is only later that we have enormous satisfaction from well-done work. Besides, no one has too much time to be satisfied, since there is no lack of problems but with the shared effort of the party and union and cooperation with the management and workers' council, we will definitely be equal to the tasks."

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL BLUE-COLLAR WORKERS ACTIVITIES NOTED

Workers Involvement in Unions

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 21-22 May 1983 p 3

[Article by Ludwig Krasucki: "The Worker Beginning of the Unions"]

[Text] It is possible to argue about various elements of the conflicts that interrupted the successful course of the building of socialism in our country and led to crises. One thing is certain: on each occasion, in 1956, 1970, and 1980, there was a weakening, with dangerous consequences, of the link between the party and its parent class, the working class. It is this link that is the most important and most precious, for the party and society, or to put it simply, for Poland.

Today, after the experiences of almost 3 years in the drama now developing more and more clearly in the direction of a positive solution, it is also known for certain that this link cannot exist without a genuine union movement, i.e. one that does not perform sham functions, but real ones; equipped with all of the authority necessary for effective representation of the interests and aspirations of working people; and perceived and received by the workers as their own movement, independent from the administration, and autonomous in the patterns of its internal operation.

Genuine, however, does not also mean constituting a field or screen for an oppositionist, unconstitutional political game, or a syndicalism remote from or completely in conflict with the realities of contemporary life and with inevitable anarchistic consequences, but rather a union that properly participates in the defense and correct implementation of the principles of the system that arose from workers' aspirations, and is called upon to put workers' affairs in first place among its goals.

All of this means that the slogan saying that Poland cannot return to the pre-August degeneration or the pre-December anarchy has to be applied most directly and plainly to the sphere of union activity, and also to relations between the party and state and the union movement.

After a lengthy discussion, in which there was a clash among different views and assessments, the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress adopted a position on trade unions that was critical of the past, and sensitive to the dangers that are increasing in this period. The slogan of independent and autonomous trade unions, but ones anchored in the constitutional order and oriented toward constructive purposes, became one of the most important points in the congress program.

This program is binding. It inspired the Sejm law of October 1982. It created a chance for activity in newly created trade unions, since this conclusion was derived from the bitter experiences of the period of growing disturbances. It also appears from the letter and spirit of the law that the emerging union organizations should be a spokesman for the rights and interests of both their members and all of those employed in individual plants.

The beginnings could not be easy, both in view of the complexity of the circumstances accompanying them, the anger and distrust of many people, and attachment to previous allegiances, and also in view of the attempts at a boycott, blockade, and a campaign by those whose plan to play the union card for anticonstitutional purposes has been definitely crushed.

Two and a half million workers have joined the new unions already. The most numerous of those entering them are blue-collar workers. They also constitute a definite majority in the union authorities already elected. The development of the new organizations in the labor world is not taking place uniformly. But even where there are still many reservations and prejudices, interest is growing, the conviction that union elements have to function efficiently is being strengthened, and the number of people applying to them and the number of matters being handled is increasing. The emotions associated with the halt in the activities of the previous union organizations are weakening. The attempts to arouse these emotions again are more and more definitely missing their targets.

The fact speaks for itself, that the natural process of creating union structures above the plant level is proceeding considerably ahead of schedule, in comparison with the schedule established for starting them. This applies to steelworkers, miners, agricultural workers, teachers, transportation workers, and also other professional groups. The ones interested in this are both the working people, and also the government and the ministries, who need a strong, demanding, and constructive partner at the level of individual branches and fields of labor. The wise people in the administration do not want the convenience of governing without active unions. They know that such a situation is demoralizing and has to result in harm.

With the participation of the unions, a new mechanism is crystallizing for consultation on draft decisions that affect working people. This is a question of consultations with the most important social force in Poland.

It is significant that after negotiations with union activists, the initial drafts on these issues underwent extensive modifications.

Everything that affects the first but increasingly longer steps of the union movement being reborn in a new form also affects the party, and at the highest levels. The ability of the party echelons and organizations to cooperate with union organizations has particular significance. At the Ninth Plenum it was stated that the methods and resources for this cooperation have to be formulated jointly by the party and union elements.

The idea of renouncing organizational precedence has to be translated into the language of practice in such a way that the realization of the jointly determined and recognized goals takes place on a single path, but by different methods, suitable for the party and the unions. Respect for the organizational, functional, and personal separation of the trade unions as organizations that are autonomous in the eyes of the party--its most important partners in the working class--requires a lively and active presence of PZPR members in union activities. One cannot decree trust and authority. They have to be earned by serving workers' interests well.

This is a set of tasks with special significance during a period in which the progress thus far, in spite of all the difficulties, is creating the prerequisites for accelerating normalization and renewal of the country's life.

Retired Workers Needed in Industry

Szczecin KURIER SZCZECINSKI in Polish 25 May 83 pp 1, 3

[Article by (tur): "The Work Is Waiting, But There Are No Guidelines"]

[Text] "General Jaruzelski, the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, appealed to retirees to return to work for a year, or two or three. What does the implementation of this appeal look like? The plant directors do not want us, and in connection with this they make life unpleasant for us in as many ways as possible. They do this in such a way that there is no work for us in the plants."

The retiree who sent this letter to the editor did not give his name, or cite the plant to which he applied for work. Not all of them are proceeding in this manner, however. The Repair Shipyard in Szczecin, for example, is itself contacting its retirees, and offering them work in jobs in which they know they are useful. The plant is proceeding on the assumption that it cannot afford to train retirees from other branches for professions unique to the shipyard. It is therefore trying to get its own experienced professionals.

The Szczecin Enterprise for Industrial Construction is very interested in the question of employing retirees in productive jobs. Several of them are

already working. The plant can take in about 100 people. It has also contacted the Employment Department for inclusion on the list of many professions in short supply at the enterprise, which--in accordance with the Council of Ministers order of 7 March on the subject of emoluments or other income being received by individuals qualified for retirement or annuities--would allow those employed in these jobs to earn more.

This order applies to all retirees and annuitants, and thus also to those who took an early retirement. Their earnings, which do not result in a suspension of the right to retirement or annuity payments, can presently amount to 64,800 zlotys in the course of a year. For retirees and annuitants employed in blue-collar jobs in which there is a shortage, this amount is higher, 96,000 zlotys per year.

The order also says that the general specification of the blue-collar jobs for which there is a shortage is to be determined by the local organ of the state administration at the voivodship level, in conformance with guidelines from the minister for labor, wages, and social affairs. So far these guidelines do not exist, and time is pressing. The plants are very interested in employing retirees or annuitants. They are pressing the Employment Department of the Voivodship Office, and asking when, what, and how. They frequently have at hand a professional whom they would like to employ at once, but it is a question of creating a possibility for more favorable conditions for emoluments. The "skilled hands" are valued and they command a high price.

This is because the situation in the Szczecin labor market does not look rosy. In April 1983, the voivodship plants announced 7,194 openings, including 5,844 for men and 2,158 for women, mainly for blue-collar jobs. At that time, 63 men and 16 women were looking for work. As far as the Employment Department of the Voivodship Office can determine, about 90 percent of the openings result from personnel turnover, and only 10 percent from increased employment requirements.

This does not at all change the fact that there is a shortage of people to work. The problems in employment began to intensify in 1982, and they are continuing. From August 1981 to the end of 1982, over 11,000 people took early retirements. Additional people will leave. Over 2,000 applications for an early retirement, submitted within the designated time, are currently being processed by the Social Security Institution.

Most of those who have left are good professionals. Many of them could start working again and would like to do so, obviously under good conditions. Composing the voivodship's specification of the jobs in which there is a shortage is not a problem. The Employment Department of the Voivodship Office is already familiar with this. It is well known that in the group of mechanical professions, there is a shortage of ironworkers, lathe operators, milling machine operators, welders, and heavy equipment operators. At

construction sites, they are waiting for bricklayers, painters, carpenters, plasterers, concrete workers, steelworkers, joiners, roofers, and tinsmiths. They are looking for electricians, electrical installation workers, and workers in many professions associated with the post office and communications. Nevertheless, what will be in those guidelines, the lack of which is hampering both the plants and the retirees themselves?

The vacation period is approaching. In many plants, retirees could also "make up for" the work force situations impaired by the vacations. Time is pressing, and the Ministry of Labor, Wages, and Social Affairs should hurry to send the guidelines.

In connection with this, we remind the retirees and annuitants that the new retirement law makes it possible to redetermine the size of the pension or invalid annuity on the basis of earnings obtained after the payments are authorized. The new basis for the assessment is established if the retiree or annuitant, after payments are authorized, has not begun to receive them as a consequence of continuing employment. It is not required that after payments are authorized he remain employed for a set time or in the same plant.

If the retiree or annuitant has already received a payment and later obtains employment, a new basis for the assessment can be established, provided that the interested party has at least a 24-month period of employment following the authorization of the payments.

It is not required that this employment be continuous, in the same plant, or at a given time, i.e. before or after the law has gone into effect. In these cases, the basis for assessment used can be both the earnings from the last 12 months of employment, or also the earnings from 24 successive months from the last 12 years, depending on the application of the retiree or annuitant. One should nevertheless keep in mind that the establishment of a new assessment basis can take place after the employment ends.

Twelve Thousand Job Openings Available

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 26 May 83 p 6

[Article by Marek Zelechowski: "No Changes in the Labor Market"]

[Text] Zbigniew Wojcik, manager of the Bureau of Announcements and Advertisements of the Prasa [Press] Workers' Cooperative Publishing House

[Question] In looking over the columns in the press, we are struck by the enormous number of announcements by enterprises looking for workers.

[Answer] It only seems that way. If we compare this situation with the 1970's (large investments), there are fewer of the announcements of which

you are speaking. Among other things, this is a result of the fact that in order to make such an announcement today, it is necessary to obtain permission for it from the Employment Department.

[Question] These lists of workers being sought--often very long ones--are expensive...

[Answer] Not very expensive at all. Several thousand zlotys is not a major sum for a large plant, even when the announcement is repeated several times. After all, this form of recruitment is necessary, in my opinion, since people are constantly looking for good, well-paying work, and among other things, a disproportion in emoluments is resulting in a large personnel turnover.

Eugeniusz Wojcik, director of the Department of Employment and Social Affairs of the City Office

Eugeniusz Wojcik, who was asked next about these problems, was also of the opinion that in spite of appearances, there have not been more announcements. Nevertheless, he added, if people tell the Department that there is a shortage of certain professionals, as a rule even an announcement in the press does not make them "appear" immediately.

[Question] At this moment there are about 12,000 job openings in the voivodship; who are the employers looking for?

[Answer] Over 80 percent of that figure consists of blue-collar jobs (7,500 for men and 4,500 for women). The needs are as follows: first of all, industry, followed by construction, then the communal economy, and finally, trade.

[Question] What is the direction of your activity aimed at the shortage in the labor market?

[Answer] In cases that are particularly essential for the national economy and the interests of the city, such as the renovation of Krakow, the supply market, agriculture, the health service, heating, etc., we are using various prerogatives. For example, in addition to the permission for press announcements, there is also permission for those enterprises to accept workers within their own jurisdiction (a list of 41 such firms has been established). Sometimes we have to use administrative measures, since a constant personnel turnover is not in the interests of the reform.

[Question] Please give me an example.

[Answer] If you please--there is the constant problem with the HiL [Lenin Metallurgical Plant] work force. The president made a decision that as of 24 May the Steelworks would have special priority. Those sent there will be

primarily people who have abandoned their work or who have been fired for disciplinary reasons, as well as people from the combine. But in principle, the employment service has been deprived of command methods. Management of the labor market must therefore take place through quick and comprehensive information.

Poll on Workers' Involvement in Reform

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 27 May 83 p 3

[Text] What do workers think about the reform, how do they assess its adoption and the effectiveness of the new economic mechanisms--finally, what changes and corrections, in their opinion, would be necessary in the solutions of the reform thus far? These are the basic questions that PAP journalists posed to a group of several hundred workers from different plants.

The poll on the functioning of the reform showed that most of the 500 workers with whom the journalists spoke fully support its general assumptions and have great hopes that the reform will overcome the crisis and create conditions for a more efficient development of the Polish economy. The "Directions of the Economic Reform" adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress have to be consistently and fully implemented; without an economic reform, our economic situation would be considerably worse; only a reform can guarantee us a way out of the crisis--these are the general views most frequently repeated in the workers' statements on the process begun last year of rebuilding the economic structures and mechanisms.

The elements considered plusses of the reform included primarily the increase in the autonomy of enterprises, which has been expressed, among other things, in free decision on the assortment of production, in the establishment of prices on the basis of real costs, and in the undertaking of many small investments aimed at improving the efficiency of production. Also useful was the institution of the principle of rewarding increased labor productivity by increased earnings for the workforce. In the opinion of a large group of those questioned, it is precisely these elements which had a fundamental influence on last year's economic results. Due to them, it was possible to bring under control and then gradually increase industrial production.

Certain statements also expressed a favorable view of the transition in some plants to a system of accords, the changes made in plant incentive systems, and also in organizational structures.

The significance of the self-management principle adopted in the form was emphasized. Self-management--as stated, among others, by Antoni Skarbek from the Glass Works in Jaroslaw--has led to everyone's feeling himself to be a joint owner of the plant and to have a share in managing the works.

This has resulted in increased awareness on the part of the workforce that its work will determine the results. Interest in the activity of self-management units is also indirectly demonstrated by the statement by Robert Balbus, from the Dolna Odra Electric Power Station Collective in the Szczecin voivodship: "We do not understand," he stated, "why in the mining and energy ministry self-management units have to remain in districts in which several hundred electric power stations are operating, and not directly in the plants, where they would be much more necessary."

Nevertheless, in individual statements there was also no lack of critical elements. Some people also expressed apprehension in regard to the further fate of the reform. Five workers from the Fasty Cotton Industry Works in Bialystok even stated that at least in their departments, they had not seen any institution of the reform or any effects from it. In their opinion, the administration is still excessively built up and bureaucratized, and is still imposing many obsolete regulations.

One of the workers stated that the most dangerous things for the reform are administrative-command restrictions that are only partially justified during the present transitional period. They should gradually be liquidated. Another worker stated that it is also dangerous for everyone to adapt the principles of the reform to his own individual needs and interests, without taking into account the general social interest.

Many of the participants in the poll criticized the decisions on a considerable increase in the wage fund for those enterprises which have achieved a growth in production in the second half of the year in comparison with the first 6 months of last year. It was stated that this was possibly justified, but that in this manner plants that previously performed considerably worse were also rewarded. In this context, the negative consequences of an unstable economic policy were pointed out. It was emphasized that the modifications made in the course of the year and the changing decisions are disorganizing work and preventing consistent implementation of the strategies for action that have been adopted.

The next group of observations dealt with wage systems. The vast majority of those participating in the poll took a position against a "wage balancing." It was emphasized that it is necessary to have an increase in wages closely linked to an increase in production, in its productivity and quality. It was stated, for example, by Jozef Wolejko from the Polska Welna plant in Zielona Gora, that equalized wages do not create incentives for better work. Wages should be paid primarily for the results of the work.

Such a view was clearly predominant in the statements. Admittedly, people pointed out the danger of creating jumps in wages, but they added that there should not be any obstacles to have a worker who performs better earn considerably more than the rest, even those in the same classification group. In connection with this, attention was called to the phenomenon of little

flexibility in the rates used, and the need for strengthening the financial position of the master workers. In addition to this, people discussed the need of creating stronger wage incentives for the sake of improving the quality of production and carrying out conservation tasks, and the excessive burden on the enterprises from the amounts diverted to the state treasury.

It is difficult to cite all of the concrete conclusions and observations presented by the workers within the framework of the poll on the reform. It is also difficult to make a comprehensive assessment of them. The opinions formulated were often based on experience and practices in the workers' own plants, and thus diametrically different views of the institution of the reform appeared. Nevertheless, there was not a single voice questioning the advisability of the reform or its basic solutions. On the contrary, everyone emphasized the necessity of a rapid and full implementation of the principles adopted at the Ninth PZPR Congress. This demonstrates that the plants have fully accepted the directions adopted for changing the economic system, and are working on instituting them consistently.

All of the statements collected within the framework of the newspaper poll will be forwarded to the office of the government representative in charge of the economic reform.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Federation or One United Union

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 21 Jun 83 pp 1, 2

[Text] Federation or united general national trade union? This is the dilemma presently facing union workers in the various branches of production, services and professions as they are contemplating which form of a superunion structure will most effectively protect workers' interests. A 2-month old resolution adopted by the Council of State which concerns principles and means of setting up general national union organizations seems to have found favorable ground in the entirely reconstructed union movement. The need has most clearly arrived for creating higher forms of organization and representation to increase the influence and strength of nearly 15,000 union workers already active in Poland. The appropriateness of the decision making it possible to set up overall national organizations before year's end, the deadline designated in the decree on trade unions, is confirmed by information coming in nearly every week from various groups and circles.

As plans and decisions made up to now by union workers show, the greatest success has been enjoyed by the federated form of trade unions which assures all plant member organizations the preservation of legality in union affairs. The choice of decisions in union structure is the result of numerous meetings between union workers, both regional and national, and sharp, lively discussions. As can be seen, the predominant element here is the endeavor to guarantee within a loose federal form the most highly democratic principles of operation of the superunion structure and full respect for the independence of the plant organizations. This is an understandable option in the light of experience with the pre-August [1981] unions which were characteristic of a hierarchical-bureaucratic system and also considering the disappointments experienced in the Solidarity era when the union leadership separated itself from the plant organizations.

The democratization of intraunion life and the effectiveness of union activity are two completely different matters. The choice of a federative form means that it will be necessary to make allowances for an extended and complicated process for both reaching and implementing decisions. This is a matter of great importance for union workers above all but also effects the organs of authority and the effectiveness of consultations with trade unions.

The tendency compartmentalize particular branches of labor within the super-union structures is characteristic of the present stage of trade union organization. The previous "departmental" structure characteristic of branch unions has been crushed. This phenomenon also springs from efforts to confirm union independence and autonomy and to unite the unions in a professional commonwealth that is as homogenous as possible.

This does, however, also give rise to many complicated problems. The first and most urgent problem is whether the organization will be strong enough to effectively utilize its serious legal powers. The collective labor structures which have already matured to the change must also be mentioned. In place of one structure once marked by a single union, there will be scores or more of these structures in the respective trades. Another urgent problem is the division of property belonging to the former unions. The commission administering this division will soon be finishing its inventory of that property. The way in which that property is to be handed over to the new unions is to be decided by the Council of State after it has surveyed the opinions of the general national union organizations.

The general development of a new union movement in a social, political and economic situation which is as complicated as the present one will not be an easy task. There are many experiences to fall back on and considerably more matters requiring a completely new approach and often innovative solutions. However, no one from the outside will be able to force anything upon the unions. The choice of solutions, even if they will not always be free from error, is going to be decided by the unionists themselves. Respect for this basic principle will assure the appropriate place and rank of the union movement in the life of our nation and its work force.

Development of Trade Union Matters

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 21 Jun 83 p 5

[Text] This is the first column of GLOS ROBOTNICZY dedicated entirely to trade union affairs. Following, for reasons of journalistic responsibility, the birth process of the union movement, we have become convinced that unionists in various circles share similar doubts, the same problems and would like to have answers to similar questions.

We have acknowledged the fact that we can in part help you by at least presenting persons who have already succeeded in effectively finding their way among union regulations and problems. We will try to present problems and subject them to public assessment and therefore search together for the best solutions.

Our intention is to invite you now for dialogue with us. If you feel that this opportunity is worth taking and wish to help your colleagues in other plants--write! Write about your own problems and what you have achieved. Tell us what helps you and what hinders you. Write what you would want to read in this column. We are not only providing the column space but also a team of lawyers, sociologists and economists. We await your letters.

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How Many Unions...How Many Members...

In May of this year, almost 14,100 registered union organizations were operating in Poland. The greatest number of unions, 1,150 of them, have been registered in Katowice Province and the least, 85, were registered in Skieriewice Province.

Out of interest, it is worth adding that, in over 120 cases, the courts withheld registration. The deciding factor in these cases was discrepancy between the union character wanted by backers of the rejected organizations and that of the union law. The second and considerably more often occurring reason was the lack of agreement of those union charters with the requirements of law (gratuitous interpretation of strike regulations, too-broad range of union authority which hits at the labor code and the law on businesses).

In Lodz, incidences of refusal to register labor organizations has occurred sporadically. Properly speaking, these were not so much refusals as postponements until certain improvements and corrections of shortcomings in the organization documents be accomplished. By the end of May, the Provincial Court had received altogether 346 recommendations to register labor organizations. Of those, 325 were registered.

At this time, more than 500 initiative groups, founding committees and fully-authorized unions are active in the Lodz metropolitan area. They contain over 60,000 members, not counting pensioned and retired workers.

The greatest increase in the ranks of the unionists took place in April, when 15,000 new members were added. In May, the number of union workers was increased by another 10,000. We feel that this tendency distinctly shows that the union movement is beginning to attain its proper place in professional circles....

In the Interests of the Workforce

S. Dubois Cotton Industry Plants

"These regulations are completely unworkable! First, the director agrees to a 50-percent surcharge on a bus trip, but a little while ago, the main accountant, 'on instructions,' hands me a letter which says that the excursion is impossible since the plant would be immediately encumbered with excessive transportation costs.... Certainly, we could have financed everything ourselves but then only the unionists and this isn't what we had in mind...." Barbara Sieradzka is still very irritated about this, but it is obvious that being about to talk has relieved her somewhat.

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] Do you frequently have problems of this sort?

[Barbara Sieradzka] Fortunately not! Actually this is only a minor affair and I believe that we will somehow settle the matter in the end. If I was

upset, that's just something that happens to everyone. However, we have to talk seriously about relationships in the business. I have to admit that, up until now, the union does not have any reasons to complain and I wouldn't want for anyone to make it seem otherwise....

You want an example? Well, myself and the union secretary were delegated to by the director to work in the administration. The workers' self-government body accepted the appointment. They understood that the union fund is still too small to meet a payroll and that, on the other hand, socially directing the union is impossible. That would neither produce good work nor activity.... Such a decision by the director is not a small thing at all. Just remember the speeches made by unionists at the recent all-Poland conference of textile workers. Much of the necessity for setting up the federations was motivated by the need of protecting the unions against their own direction and autonomy. It wasn't just a matter of money, either.

Although we are for setting up the federations, our own situation looks completely different. Polino is a firm consisting of several plants. In each of the plants, the union has divisional administrations whose members are socially active. However, there are two hours of duty hours done there daily. That is also a gesture on behalf of the directors who gave us those two hours for that purpose because they take important union affairs seriously. No one made them do it. The delegation in itself shows that the director can support us but doesn't have to at all....

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] By the way, this support by the director has now brought about the most misunderstandings of various types. I have even heard the opinion that the director is buying us off by delegating a chairman....

[Barbara Sieradzka] I haven't heard this and I think it's absurd. First of all, unionists are people who have, in a very difficult time, put themselves and their authority to the test to prove that it is possible under the present conditions to create a genuine workers' organization. They cannot be bought off by this type of delegation. Second, the director doesn't have this sort of peace of mind with us. Just take a look at these papers--the chairman gave me a thick folder documenting three months of union activity.

"Twenty-three February 1983. Elections: The Independent Self-Governing Labor Union of Workers at the S. Dubois Cotton Industries Plant is formed with 119 members." There are now about 650 of us. I say about because we have new people joining every day....

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] Further in the documents on organizational matters I come upon resolutions by the administration which are a record of concrete enterprises. There are nearly 20 of them. Quite a lot for three months of activity, especially considering that they deal with problems which are neither trifling nor minor. Among the resolutions is one concerning wages: in connection with government announcement in the second half of this year of 15 percent price increases, the union administration charges the plant director to work out a program to prevent a drop in real earnings of Polino employees. The union demands

presentation of the plant's present financial situation and the submitting of a program for eventual pay raises. The deadline for implementing this is the end of June....

[Barbara Sieradzka] We have already seen the first effects of that. Thanks to the union, some members of our staff have received pay raises and motivational merit pay raises have been made in professional specialist positions. Maybe within the next 6 months we will be able to work out something for the remainder of our work force. I would like to take this opportunity to point out that in one resolution we talk about a drop in employment. I feel that pay raises can check that. Wages in our plant as well as throughout the entire industry are very poor. This is not in the directors' hands though. We must have a central decision on wages, and we, as a single union, do not have any influence on that at all. For that reason, the creation of a federation is so important. A federation could not only see through, but could also verify our collective arrangements....

The vacation season is coming up. Therefore, much of the unionists' time is taken up with plant vacations, childrens' trips and summer camps. As of now, we haven't been able to arrange vacations for only 40 persons. There are problems with spaces on the trips. However, the chairman has good ideas. It always [happens] that some of the people give up their places and the number of those vacations "not arranged" becomes smaller. Besides, the union and the social division are always trying to buy additional places. In 100 percent of cases, children have had their trips and we have also succeeded in finally standardizing principles of payment for the camps in all of the Polino plants and in all professional groups. In the conception of the resolution adopted by the union, the director arrived at the decision that compensation in each case will be 20 percent of the cost of the trip. This refers, of course, to normal compensation, since such an arrangement does not at all take for granted the situation of persons in very difficult conditions and whose children are due for a vacation. Parents may thus turn to the director for help and he may then decide to regulate some of the vacations in the plant. Of course, as always, the union's opinion is necessary.

[GŁOS ROBOTNICZY] It is worth having a look at these opinions. Barbara Sieradzka repeatedly emphasized that these are very answerable questions.

[Barbara Sieradzka] Every time we present an opinion, we prepare ourselves unusually well. We are aware that our prestige and position as a union depends to a large degree on our credibility, especially in affairs such as this. Thus, we do not depend on declarations alone. We try to get through to our fellow workers and we gather opinions from particular circles through our division administrations. Often, we personally investigate the actual situation on the spot. The effects of our work as of today are that out of 11 recommendations submitted by us, 8 were favorably dispensed.

Everything that I have talked about up to now lies within the management of the union's social commission. This commission has also taken upon itself "un-typical" responsibilities such as the organization of employee trips to sanatoriums. Thus, from the moment the employee receives his vacation notice to

the moment of departure, the union is involved in everything. Everyone who has tried to arrange for himself sanatorium benefits, knows just what that means.

The next big and important set of affairs is that of housing. The second of the union's commissions handles that. I have begun to look over the documents. Many matters are being acted upon and some of them have been settled. Among other things, the union recently, along with the plant party committee, obtained an apartment in a high-rise for Mrs Sikorska. There are also some cases with annotations that a worker refused to accept a substitute apartment....

Are you surprised? Then just listen. We have such a case here. When I think of it, I am completely blown over. If it weren't for our conversation, I would already be talking with the chairman of the Provincial Housing Cooperative.

The case concerns a Mrs Szymanska of the C. plant. This woman is working hard around the clock. She lives with her husband and two small children in an apartment occupied by five families. The social commission intervened on her behalf, and then the union followed by the office of the Sejm deputy. It was finally worked out that she would get the keys to an apartment from the housing cooperative by January. This did not come through! Several times, I took her case to Deputy Chairman Burow. The members of the union housing commission were also involved until we received information that her apartment has been arranged. As we were rejoicing, here comes Mrs Szymanska in tears. She did get an apartment but not a cooperative, just a temporary one and without an oven and a bath. She had seen the administration and they told her that the apartment has no oven but the plant can buy her a bath--now isn't that thoughtless? How could such a thing happen? I can only tell you that we're not going to forgive them for this....

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] Wages, children summer trips, vacations, housing action. Without doubt these are important matters. They are not, however, the only proof today of the organization's vitality and of what it has been able to do in the life of the plant workers nor of how much it has broken down the barrier of distrust which still does, after all, exist. This distrust is most distinctly attested to by the 1000-member majority of workers who have not joined us. For that reason, every friendly gesture and every matter that a worker brings to the administration is important to the unionists, regardless of whether or not that worker is a member of the union. The unionists attach great importance to timely intervention. Barbara Sieradzka says that more and more people recently are knocking at the union's doors.

Not so long ago, finish preparers came to the B. plant union division with a request for their intervention in a wage case. The union was able to handle the case with the director at once. These workers were not union members.

[Barbara Sieradzka] We effectively intervened in a case of a woman who had to retire due to illness but had to pay a large housing loan. Meanwhile, financial conditions did not allow her to regulate her dues. We helped and I think that she and her colleagues already see the union in a different light.

[GLOS ROBOTNICZY] I understand that in this type of work it's hard to plan anything but some sort of purposes do exist. What do you intend to be doing in this coming period?

[Barbara Sieradzka] Indeed there is no program since it is hard to plan what will happen, however, next we would like to become involved in problems of work conditions. Just yesterday, a social review of work conditions was finished. We are now compiling the gathered materials and trying to draw conclusions and form concrete postulates. It's a shame that we have to wait so long for a law on inspection of work. The project is encouraging, especially for plants that are in old buildings that have served their time already, however, that still remains just a project.

Supraplant Structures

Interplant union organizations are coming into being. The first ones were started by steel workers and foundry workers. Then the Council of States passed a resolution on the possibility of opening a federation of agricultural workers' trade unions. Construction workers, foresters, longshoremen, textile workers, metal workers, electricians, teachers, communications workers, urban transportation workers and miners are all well along in work to set up a supraplant union structure. Everyday brings new information. Generally, the federation model predominates all the planning. The representatives of particular unions are defending their autonomy, seeing this as a guarantee against a return to the pre-August conditions.

Only in the teaching profession does one hear demands for creation of one union directed by a common central administration. In the case of teachers, that does, however, have its justification. The teaching profession is relatively homogenous and the proliferation of hundreds of identical organizations (as the labor code sees it, every school is a separate establishment and would properly have its own union) would simply not make sense.

What must be done so that a federation or any other sort of supraplant organization could come into being? We put this question to the secretary of the Information and Advice Section of the City of Lodz Peoples' Council, Zbigniew Kamiewski:

[Kamiewski] Above all, it is only those unionists whose plant organizations are already registered and have held elections that can think about establishing a federation. General meetings of the unions must express their agreement to eventual entry to a federation or a general national union (we do not wish to make any arbitrary conclusions here). Then their properly-authorized representatives may form a so-called founding committee. That committee will take up the drafting of basic documentation of the proposed federation and thus the charter, electoral procedure, and program. They should have previously consulted with the plants they are to represent, after which they may submit their recommendations to the Council of State. The Council of State then decides whether the federation is to be established, however, that decision does not necessarily mean that the federation begins its operations. This can only take place after its registration in the Warsaw Provincial Court, in other words, after the organization has acquired its so-called legal personality....

Generally speaking, foundation of a union federation appears to be a simple matter. We have meanwhile discovered that for steelworkers who have anyway surprised other circles with their enterprise, it was necessary to hold as many as 30 all-Poland meetings of mill and foundry representatives. We do have to remember that, after all, we no longer have so many of these types of plants, especially in comparison to light industry with its 800 individual enterprises.

Participants of the all-Poland textile workers' conference in Lodz were convinced that this is actually a complicated matter. During the conference, there was much impatience expressed over the fact that foundation of a federation has to take such a long time. The organizers were repeatedly compelled to explain that, without the empowerment of general meetings, unionists cannot make such important decisions. Thus, the first meeting was concluded on designation of the consequent date (end of June) for the establishment of the federation's founding committee. With that it must be remembered that in the case of textile workers, everything moved at a faster pace because the Lodz initiative group had already begun work on its federation charter before the first conference. Thanks to this early start, the involved unions had already been consulted about the charter.

The metalworkers conference in Poznan was a similar case. A decided majority here as well expressed readiness to begin forming a federation, however, it soon turned out to be the case that only a part of the participants there were properly authorized by their unions and the remainder were present just to reconnoiter the situation. It is worth noting on the side that one of the most active groups in Poznan was the Lodz group. Proof of this was the fact that the Lodz group was entrusted with the responsibility of preparing the charter draft and voting regulations for the metalworkers' federation.

To all of these points we are adding the observation that, without exception, all of the initiators of the supraplant organizations fear like fire itself their work being transformed into an agency centrally controlling their unions. They already know that the greatest danger of that happening lies in bureaucracy. For that reason, they are trying to protect themselves against that in different ways. For example, steelworkers have decided that their federation will have only one office of secretary. All other offices, those of the chairmen included, will socially fulfill their duties. The unionists, wanting to guarantee that the central organization have an exclusively service function, have decided that its organs (executive committee) will not have any practical influence (no power to vote) on the internal affairs of the federated worker organizations. At this time, it is at first glance hard to foresee whether this solution, however rigorous it may seem at first glance, will turn out to be effective. It is obvious though that its authors are very well aware of the danger of centralism and that seems to be the best guarantee of the unions' independence.

Autonomy--Unions. What Does Practice Show Us?

Solidarity and its program for a so-called "Self-Governing Republic" took the lead in the matter of self-government and unions. The pressure exerted on the

authorities does not have to be mentioned. For that reason, union and worker-management concerns began to become mixed together within the worker self-government law. That was indeed the case when the lines between the unions and the self-government bodies disappeared. Taking advantage of unclear (at least perceived as such) lines of authority in plant administration, that is, the law on businesses and on worker self-management, many worker organizations understood a campaign which was only curbed by martial law.

A third document then made its appearance. The reader does not have to be reminded about the attitude at first to the new unions. It was thus nothing strange that everyone that regarded the new independent and self-governing unions with distrust naturally began to gravitate toward the reactivated worker self-government bodies. Differences in interests appeared. Union prestige within the worker community came into play more than any other factor.

The official interpretation of the problem then concluded with the magical statement that the matter of the new unions is a delicate one. Contemplating the powers of worker self-management and the unions, there were pointed out groups of exclusive and common matters that are mutually interrelated and oblige the subordination here of one and there of the other. There was talk of a need for cooperation, understanding and finally, good will in the name of leading the nation from out of the present crisis. Furthermore, it happened to be stated that such a concept of affairs is appropriate and cognizant if it does not lead to misunderstandings which may result from the fact that legal language is obscure, not everyone being able to immediately perceive the various nuances in the wording of both laws.

Today, people are already talking distinctly about the need to verify the regulations of both of the legislative acts, especially those concerning matters of union competence. It's high time that this be done. Alarming news has been coming in from various ends of the nation. For example, we have been hearing that plant directors, taking advantage of the vague authority of the worker councils and union organizations, choose those positions and decisions that are more convenient for them. The unions have their greatest losses due to such practices. Sometimes it turns out that a union is completely unnecessary since everything can be handled by the workers' council and the social division.

Recently, we have even the opinion that the legislative misunderstanding has become an instrument of the political struggle since supporters of the previous unions are infiltrating the worker self-governing bodies and torpedoing union initiatives from there. Even if this is overlooked, there is something happening. Signals of the misunderstanding between unions and worker self-management are also coming in from the Lodz plants (we intend to address that subject in the next edition of our union column). In all, the situation is not very encouraging.

All the more surprising is the position taken by the government plenipotentiary for trade union affairs with whom we had the opportunity to become acquainted during his last visit to Lodz. The minister confirmed the bad news and acknowledged the urgent need for taking the appropriate legislative steps to which he added that we cannot act hastily. Let life itself find the best way to clear

up the problem. Practice has shown us all of the weak points of both the business law and the law on worker self-management. When appropriate rulings are given, there will no longer be any doubts as to how these laws are to be interpreted.

Thus, we do not have anything against experimentation, but if the situation does look the way the minister himself presented it, then the practice seems to be, to put it mildly, deserving of deliberation. Since there is a conflict, then first of all everything must be done to liquidate the sources of conflict and not wait to see what will happen. Even if matters of a political nature were not coming into play, it would still be a good idea to clear up ambiguities in the content of the two laws. This would spare the nerves of many people and make it possible to altogether avoid unnecessary misunderstandings, the sources of which must be in bad will. Unfortunately, life will be able to play some dirty tricks.

Why a Federation?

We are struggling for different things, but all of us are treading the same roads with little results. As a single union we are not a government partner even though we represent thousands of workcrews. The federation is the partner. Besides, the federation model is the only one that we can accept since it preserves the unions' legal character and guarantees their future autonomy and independence.

I expect that the federation will compel the government to accurately determine the principles by which the worker self-government bodies, administration and unions are to function in plants. Up to now, all of this has been in great disorder. There are three laws: on worker self-government, on business and on trade unions. Taken separately, they are good laws, but if you look at them together, especially in terms of areas of competence, something does not seem to fit right...(Ryszard Chudzik--union chairman at the Marchlewski Cotton Plants).

More than anything, the federations are for consultation on important decisions, and by this I don't mean just price decisions. Important decisions for the federation to consider are bringing the labor code up to date or introducing a new taxation system. These are very important matters and we must have a voice in how they are settled. Law, after all, guarantees us of that. As unionists we have the right and, in my opinion, the responsibility to express ourselves on all problems important to workers and their families. Meanwhile, realization of this principle is having different degrees of success. Individual voices are not always being heard where they have to be.

If there are any apprehensions that I may be having over creation of the supra-plant organization, they are over bureaucratization. We don't need bureaucrats and directors. On the other hand though, we must have people that can effectively represent us and whose voices will be heard...(Jadwiga Fornal--union chairman, Lido Knitwear Goods Plant).

The problem of suspending our plant director for alleged excessive payments could have been settled within 2 weeks had there existed a supraplant structure. As it was, it has taken 2 and 1/2 months and no one knows why. Unfortunately, the minister will not be talking with us because there are only 2,000 of us, and there are over 700,000 persons working in this industry. That is a beginning and a force that we have to count on....

I feel that the federation is also necessary to our opponents for them to be convinced that we really are dealing with important, concrete problems... (Pawel Szymanski--chairman, NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Labor Union] at Fresco Wool Industry Plants).

An organ for permanent contact with the government is necessary. Single, television-broadcasted meetings do not accomplish much. We are not interested in consultations for appearance's sake... (Lechoslaw Lapka--union chairman at the May First Plants).

The government declares that it is standing on its August agreements and talks about review of collective relationships. We would add to this that the conclusion of new relationships is necessary. The union at the Marchlewski or Defenders plants is not dealing with this problem.

I am referring to the impression that the federation is really most needed by the small plants. We had many examples of this at the textile workers' conference. It often happens that the union is completely on its own in such small plants. The administration and workers' self-government bodies are sometimes against it and at the same time it doesn't have the strength to gain support for its demands. Territorial administrations are more often closer to the plant administrations... (Stanislaw Kryszak--chairman of the Defenders of Peace Labor Union).

Photo caption [photo omitted]: "Defenders of Peace" Lodz Cotton Mills. The union organization here is one of the largest in the city. At the beginning of June, 5,600 workers belong to the plant's Independent Self-Governing Union. Applications for membership to the union continue to come in daily.

Rzeszow Region Trade Union Developments

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by jak: "Union News"]

[Text] In the development of the union movement on new principles, the phenomenon of an often mass endeavor to create supraplant structures and a tight federation of plant organizations from particular branches of industry is characteristic. The federations, started in our country by steelworkers, are, as conceived in their charters, voluntary associations and union organizations have a legal right to belong to federations. This type of group is preferred today by the majority of initiative groups and founding committees of the new structures and that is a new phenomenon in the history of our union movement.

It was known that the trade unions being reborn in the plants would sooner or later attempt to pool their efforts within at least one branch of industry in order to more effectively defend workers' interests. In principle, no one had any doubts that the workers' interests were being defended. It is an entirely natural thing that, in a period of restructuring the entire economy and thus the making of important decisions both on a central level and at the level of individual factories, there is also a need for united efforts to represent the workcrews at the making of these decisions. The legal nature of many of these decisions demands very broad consultation and it is unthinkable that such consultation could be conducted with hundreds of scattered organizations, even if they do have shared interests and similar views on defending the standard of living of working people.

Thus, the forming now of federated union associations lies in the interests both of those persons wanting (and who even must) to take consultation on their intended decisions and those effected by these decisions. The strong trend toward setting up supraplant union structures is an expression of full understanding of this truth by both sides of the decisionmaking dialogue. The haste characterizing the embodiment of the effects of this understanding also attests well to the unionists. It expresses the care that they take to not miss or lose a thing in providing the people favorable conditions of work and pay which are the elements forming the groundwork for leading our nation out of its crisis. This is the most expressive argument that the new trade unions are very seriously handling their mission of comanagement and coresponsibility in every factory, every industry and throughout the country.

When the directions of growth of the union movement in our country has been contemplated, there have been two lines of thought in hypotheses on this subject. The first, that the unions will try to unite into a strong national organization which will exist at the expense of the recently-gained organizations by means of registering themselves and acquiring a legal character. Such a direction of growth has been foreseen for a large group of numerous union organizations that, although they do possess legal powers, are not themselves in a position to exert entirely effective pressure on behalf of workers' interests on the decisionmaking circles. The other direction of growth predicted for the union organizations in the great industrial concerns is that of the federated movement, which will have a preeminent position in workers' determining our shared future. Within the structure of a federation, each plant organization preserves all of the rights granted it by court registration.

Such an evolution seemed to be logical and the consideration of the two above-mentioned solutions was completely justified.

Life itself, however, creates the best scenarios and today we thus have a marked trend toward the second solution, regardless of the size of the plant or its workforce. For example, several days ago, we reported on the creation in Dubieck of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers at Panel, Plywood and Match Factories. This is a small branch of industry employing less than 20,000 workers in 29 plants in Poland. However, none of the 15 federated labor organizations wanted to surrender their legal powers or independence. A similar phenomenon is seen in other "small" branches of industry.

This phenomenon may not be dismissed with a laconic statement that unionists have had enough of centralism and its associated bureaucratic style of administration. Apparently, something considerably more important is revealed here. In the process of cooperation and state democratization seeking every broader civil rights, members of the new unions want and have every right to want to be the subject and not just the object of decisions. They want for their participation in partner decisions to be authentic and for nothing to deprive them of the guarantee that they have their opinion presented in every important matter. This is therefore a desired phenomenon attesting to the proper understanding by the labor unions of their appropriate social mission among workers.

Region Unionists in Numbers

The union movement in the four southeastern provinces of Poland is continually growing. The provincial courts are constantly receiving new recommendations for registration of plant union organizations.

Following the initial period when the newly-revived trade unions were having a noticeable quick growth in their ranks, the present growth has been somewhat slower, but constant. This seems to be a favorable phenomenon since one can assume that entry to the trade unions is preceded by conscious and well thought out decision.

Here are several figures showing the status of memberships in our region's trade unions:

Krosno Province:

Registered unions are operating in 153 individual plants;

17 more prospective unions are awaiting registration in the Provincial Court;

the trade unions have collected 25,000 persons or 25 percent of the total employed workforce.

Przemysl Province:

170 trade unions are operating;

2 prospective unions are awaiting registration in the Provincial Court;

the trade unions contain 25,000 persons, or one-third of the Province's workforce.

Rzeszow Province:

There are 297 registered labor organizations operating;

11 organizations are still waiting to be registered in the Provincial Court;

the trade unions contain over 36,000 workers, or 19.3 percent of the total workforce.

Tarnobrzeg Province:

240 registered union organizations are active in this province;

6 labor organizations await registration in the Provincial Court;

36,000 people are members of the provincial trade unions, which is 26.5 percent of the total workforce.

One Out of Many

In the union movement, whose situation and current problems are the subject of much conversation, a great role is played by people. In difficult times for the union it was the people who took upon their backs the labor of organizing union groups in the plants and accepted the responsibility for their previous enterprises. We know that these people often had thankless and unpopular work to do. Therefore, in this permanent column, we will be presenting sketches of union activists so that we can give at least some of them a small measure of satisfaction for the work, courage and energy they have expended in daily activity for the good of workcrews.

Jozef Olszowy--chairman of the administration of the employees' NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] at the Predom-Zelmer Home Appliances Plant in Rzeszow.

Jozef Olszowy was educated as a physicist and has established himself in 22 years of professional work. He spent 15 years as a teacher and a member of the Polish Teachers' Union and the past 7 years in the Predom-Zelmer plant laboratory in Rzeszow. He was chairman of the division council and later of the plant council of the former metalworkers' labor union in this plant. As soon as the new union law was announced, he was one of those who took up reactivation of the union organization Zelmer. He was chairman of the founding committee and on 18 February of this year, during a conference of union organization delegates at this plant, he was elected chairman of the union administration.

The Employees' Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of the Predom-Zelmer Home Appliances Plant had 612 members, about 15 percent of the plant's workforce, but J. Olszowy does not feel that activity to enlarge the union membership is not the most important mission that the administration has. More than anything else, he is interested in improving work safety conditions in the plant (leaking roofs, excessive noise and dust, etc.) and in dealing with workers' individual problems.

"The one way to enhance the union's authority and also increase its membership," says J. Olszowy "is earnest charter activity and realization of the program outlined for us by the plant delegate conference. Every concrete action will have more of an effect than encouraging words and promises...."

Trade Union Law of 8 October 1982 [Excerpts in box]

Trade Union Work

Article 5: Trade unions represent the professional interests of their members before the administrations of work establishments and the organs of state and economic administration, social organizations, and in relations with union organizations of other countries and they cooperate with these organs and organizations.

Article 6.1: Trade unions represent and protect the rights and interests of workers in the realm of work conditions and wages as well as of social, daily living and cultural conditions, especially in the the areas of:

- 1) rational employment policy and the establishment of rights and obligations issuing from the work relationship;
- 2) work rewards and other worker benefits;
- 3) work safety, hygiene and interpersonal relations;
- 4) work conditions for women and teenagers;
- 5) social benefits for workers and their families;
- 6) entertainment, physical exercise, tourism and worker vacations;
- 7) health services for workers and their families;
- 8) illness, pension and retirement benefits and other social security benefits;
- 9) worker housing needs;
- 10) prices and market supply as well as living costs of workers and their families;
- 11) development of education and culture on the job;
- 12) protection of the natural environment.

Article 7: The trade unions conduct educational activity for shaping professional ethics, conscientious and earnest performance of worker duties and also the preservation of principles of social coexistence.

These excerpts of trade union regulations only trace the general tasks of the union organizations. Elaboration of the subject can be found in Section 4 of the trade union law which discusses the plant union organization and the specific tasks of each trade union, determines the charter and program of activity accepted at a general assembly (delegate assembly) of this union.

Union Initiatives: Business in Opinions and Assessments of Carpathian-Region Working People

Market supplies, activity of individual businesses, and systems for selling grocery and industrial articles have been the subject of popular attention for a long time. These problems will also be the principle subject of a meeting of representatives from the provincial authorities, organizations and individual businesses of the Carpathian region with numerous representatives of the newly-organized trade unions of the entire Krosno Province.

A discussion and exchange of views on the system of supplying the local market will take place next Friday, 24 June, in the concert hall of the State Music School in Krosno. The meeting will start at 10:00 am.

Statements, recommendations and demands may also be given by telephone prior to the meeting between 10:00 am and 6:00 pm at the telephone numbers 217-24 and 211-49 of the Business Division of the Krosno Provincial Administration.

Development of Trade Union, Workers' Self-Government

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 23 Jun 83 p 3

[Article by s-ow: "Provincial Defense Committee Session in Zamosc: Development of Union Movement and Worker Self-Government"]

[Text] The Wednesday session of the Provincial Defense Committee in Zamosc was dedicated to assessment of the current state of reactivation of trade unions and worker self-government in Zamosc region work establishments and to determining the tasks for the state and economic administration in creating conditions facilitating the start of operation for these organizations. The session was led by chairman of the WKO [Provincial Defense Committee] and governor of Zamosc Province, Marian Wysocki.

In Zamosc Province, a quickening of activity by trade unions has been observed recently. They are activating themselves and growing in number. The Provincial Court in Zamosc has up to now registered 160 union organizations and there are 15 such organizations still waiting to be registered.

However, new and little-experienced activists have entered the union leadership at many plants. They must be provided with assistance both from the aktivs of other organizations and from the administrative leadership as well as legal advisors employed at the plants. The initiative started by the Provincial Deputy's Team in Zamosc has been highly evaluated. The Provincial Deputy's Team, taking the development of worker self-government into consideration, recently established a consultative team made up of specialists on law, economics and business organization. The consultative team offers advice to interested persons each Tuesday from 2:00-4:00 pm at the Provincial Peoples' Council building. The Provincial Peoples' Council has also perceived the need for assisting the new worker self-governments and has created a special commission on worker self-government affairs from its council members.

As the next point of proceedings, the activity of the Provincial Administration of the National Defense League in the realm of military training and patriotic education of youth was assessed. It was said that, despite the difficult conditions, especially local conditions, the league organization met the tasks set before it.

Lublin Area Trade Union Developments

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 24 Jun 83 p 3

[Text] We are today inaugurating publication of UNION NEWS. This will be a column on problems of the union movement and will appear in this paper every second Tuesday. UNION NEWS will be edited with the participation of the aktiv of the union organizations as well as the social information-advisory commissions on trade union affairs attached to the presidiums of peoples' councils in our region.

We wish to emphasize that the initiative for creating just this type of forum for exchanging experiences, pointing out difficulties and problems effecting workers and the union movement as well as for expressing the unions' opinions on proposed legislation and decisions important to the world of labor came from unionists at plants in our region.

This initiative has received our eager support since the plant union organizations are becoming more and more active. The courageous and capable engagement of unionists in the life of the workcrew, intervention to protect the interests of the workers and their taking up the recommendations and proposals of the workers all go to show that not only is the range of responsibilities and duties growing but also the trust of the new unions. The union ranks are systematically growing and the plant organizations are having an increasing effect on improvement of work and social conditions, alleviating the effects of much past neglect in those areas and are vigilantly addressing problems arising in the wake of economic reform.

We want for our column to become a forum for discussion. We therefore invite unionists to send us their thoughts, opinions and reflections which we will systematically publish. According to the conclusions, we will also be acquainting our readers with regulations of union activity and interpreting these regulations.

Polish Post--Telegraph--Telephone State Enterprise

A meeting of telecommunication workers' unions took place in Lublin at the end of May. This meeting was preceded by extensive consultation with the trade unions of telecommunications bureaus throughout Poland. These consultations expressed the aspirations of workers in this industry to be [able to] form their own discrete trade union within the structure of the Polish state postal, telegraph and telephone services. Differences in the work performed between the postal workers and telecommunications workers have inclined the latter to try to create a separate federation. Their aspirations are obvious if you look at them from a point of view on finances.

The PP [State Enterprise] Polish Post-Telegraph-Telephone receives two-thirds of its profit from telecommunications although only one-third of its workers are employed in that branch.

Within the structure of our economic reform, telecommunications wages would rise significantly if they could be independently set. The present financial and investment policies is harming telecommunications. Millions of zlotys are lost annually. These are millions that are, after all, earned by telecommunications.

Workers in this industry want to have more of a voice in the future. Everyone knows the policy of obtaining postal facilities in the rural areas and the frequent change of postal premises from one peasant to another. What is not known about are the costs incurred in moving post offices in this way. All of the equipment used in rural mail delivery can be moved by hand but moving telecommunications equipment is not only very costly but also materials-intensive. There have been causes where there was a move made every 2 or 3 years. There is a shortage of cables, tin and other materials in the postal service and relocation of the smallest telephone exchange uses up thousands of meters of cable and dozens of kilograms of tin. This has been the practice for a long time. The postal service occupies the position of administration and telecommunications are delegated a merely secondary role in overall organization. If telecommunications had the one small facility in each village that the postal service has, an enormous sum could be saved each year. Presently, money is being spent to rent basements or rooms from farmers. It is often true that a farmer is able to put up a new building on the money he has received for just a few years' rent.

The work of the future federation of telecommunications workers' trade unions would be: compel the adoption of a proper cadre policy; conducting the training of young workers and taking care to assure them of a good start in their career; developing a common program of work safety; aim for an economical policy of investments; strive for achievement of greater independence of telecommunications in managing their facilities; increasing the role of invention and rationality in the field of telecommunications and aiding workers in the search for new and economical solutions at their places of work; and the development of a labor code for telecommunications workers.

Some 815 Organizations Have Been Legally Recognized

According to information received by us at the end of last week, 815 union plant organizations in our region have already received legal recognition.

Thus, there have been 153 organizations (with 12 awaiting registration) registered in Biala-Podlaska Province, 106 (with 4 waiting) registered in Chelm Province, 396 (12 waiting) registered in Lublin Province, and in Zamosc Province, 160 organizations have been registered and 16 await registration.

Up to now, 14,760 primary union organizations have been registered throughout Poland.

Foundry Workers of Lublin Ursus Plant Found Federation of Steelworkers' Trade Unions

Long before now it was known that agreement builds and disagreement ruins. This was well understood by the steelworkers and unionists who, a dozen or so days ago, at a congress in Katowice, were the first in Poland to create a Federation of Steelworkers' Trade Unions. Out of 477 persons from 93 union organizations, who were also the federation's members and founders, two were representatives of the Lublin Metal Plants Workers' NSZZ. Teodor Kloc and Jaroslaw Zbytnik, employees of the Lublin Ursus Foundry were present at the congress along with the representative of the foundry workers from FSC, Jan Pawlak.

There were many reasons for the formation of a supraplant union structure. The main one was the weakness of a single labor union in the plant.

Work in the steel industry is group work which relies on mutual assistance and cooperation. There are many matters that come up beyond the organizational structure of the plant or enterprise and dealing with them frequently demands activity conducted outside of the plant. Decentralization of the structure of the steelworkers' trade unions which took place when the trade union law took effect threatened the loss of values and achievements that came into being in the activity of unionists during the previous period.

The existing health resort facilities of steelworkers was supposed to go under the administration of the Ministry of Health and Social Services. Wages within the steel industry are presently very varied. Among other things, there are some of the considerations that decided the necessity of creating a federation. However, before workers in the iron and steel industries, nonferrous metallurgy, fire-resistant materials industry, metal remanufacturing and the foundries came to the congress, they held 32 meetings to discuss all of the documents, work out a charter draft and a position on social problems, wage problems and others and thereby began to create a structure for the federation. On 20 May this year, the Provincial Court in Warsaw registered the FHZZ [Federation of Steelworkers Trade Unions] and 10 days before that, the Council of State gave agreement in a resolution to the start of operation by a general national union organization. The organization that has come into being out of the Polish union movement is of an innovative nature.

Among the many tasks that the steelworkers put to themselves, the most important ones were working out a new arrangement of work and wages and breaking down the barriers of distrust toward the new trade unions. Other than these, there are many other previously announced demands to be met such as: steelworkers cards, housing construction, environmental protection, steelworker pension and retirement benefits and many others. Realization of all of these recommendations and proposals is to be assured by the fundamental principle of self-reliance and independence of the organs of state and economic administration upon which the activity of the revived trade union movement is based.

Under the conditions of economic reform, the union activity of steelworkers will be dependent on shaping the professional and social activity of the

workers for realization of economic tasks, quality improvement and work efficiency as well as economical management. This is followed by the necessity of conducting activities based on mutual respect and a partner relationship between the unionists and organs of administration.

The congress adopted a series of organizational resolutions and a program declaration and made an appeal to steelworkers' trade unions worldwide to defend and strengthen peace.

The program declaration of the FHZZ contains the organization's operating conditions. It reads: Defending the interests of steelworkers, the federation is aware of the fact that only that which the workcrews are able to produce can be shared. In their own economic management, steelworkers and foundry workers working for themselves must have the right to joint decision on everything that effects the results of their work and thereby their living conditions. The opinion of the federation must be considered, heard carefully and respected."

On 1 July 1983, in accordance with the congress resolution, the FHZZ will enter the International Association of Metal Industry Trade Unions. Alfred Miódowicz of the Lenin Steel Mills in Drakow became chairman of the federation's Executive Committee.

Teodor Kloc, chairman of the unionists at the Lublin Ursus Plant, spoke up at the congress and appealed that the affairs of all federation members be seen equally and that the professions of steelworkers and foundry worker not perish as there are at this time no young people wanting to work in this profession.

The Lublin Metal Plant NSZZ is a member and a founder of the federation. In spite of the fact that none of the Lublin foundry workers went into the federation leadership, we know, as I was informed by the chairman, that their interests will be defended at the congress by chosen members of the leadership. The Lublin foundry workers are battling with the same problems as their colleagues all over Poland. Are the labor unions still going to cause problems for long? Unionists from Ursus in Lublin believe that their problems, thanks to the federation, will be more quickly settled. The steelworkers are strong in their unity--with this slogan in mind, unionists met for 2 days in the hall of the Baildon Steel Mill in Katowice.

Creation and Forms of Supraplant Structures

Against the background of a tendency in many worker communities to set up what are already at this time general national (supraplant) union organizations, doubts concerning the interpretation of the applicable legal restrictions have come into being in the practical operation of these organizations. For the purpose of eliminating these doubts, the following questions must be explained.

1. In the light of the regulations of the Council of State's resolution, preliminary action for the purpose of setting up a general national union organization are carried out in several stages. The first stage is the reaching of

an understanding between the plant union organizations wanting to create the general national organization and, in accordance with statutes, the passing of applicable resolutions on this matter by all of the interested union organizations as well as the election by each one of its own representative (representatives) to a founding group. These representatives should submit a resolution of the statutory organs according to the record in the statute (of the administration, general assembly, delegate assembly). The resolution is to state the period of accession to the general national organization and also the warrant to act in the name of its organizations.

2. Further actions are to be taken by the founding group. The basic obligation of the founding group is to conduct consultation with all of the plant union organizations that are active within the given branch of industry, type of employment or trade and to prepare a draft of the charter. The condition for creation of a general national organization is the expressed agreement of over half of the union organizations in work establishments. Plant organizations that agree to join the federation at a later date should also pass an appropriate resolution on this matter. Founding groups, on general principles in force, may be called up in the provinces and representatives of the provincial founding groups may then be included in the national founding group.

3. The 12 April 1983 resolution passed by the Council of State allows the creation of a union organization in one of the two following forms.

The first form is that of creating a general national organization of workers employed in a given field of work, type of employment or profession and associated in former union organizations at their place of work. The choice of this form means that, in essence, there is created a general national trade union whose members are employees (pensioners, retirees) of plants within a given branch of labor, type of employment or profession. In such a case, the union has legal recognition only as a whole and the former trade unions at the places of work renounce their separate legal identity. The form of such a general national organization expressed among other things by the substitution of all former union charters with a single national charter and thereby the subordination of all organs and members of the union to one central center of administration, will facilitate the establishment and then the realization of goals outlined by the highest organs of the union.

The second form consists of creating a general national organization which associates the trade unions at plants in one branch of labor, type of employment or profession. This is thus an association (federation) of trade unions as understood by article 20 of the trade union law. With this form of association, legal recognition is entitled to both the association (federation) and its member plant union organizations which preserve their previously-acquired legal identity. This form is characterized by the distinction of plant trade unions which preserve their charters and legal identities. It is a fact that each of the unions making up the association preserves its individual and separate legal identity and may make more difficult the preparation and realization of a common position. In connection with this, it is necessary to accurately regulate in statute the powers of the association's organs in relation to the individual unions so as to clarify what rights the unions possess and what rights the association as a whole is entitled to.

"Partner and Defender"

When the white and red flags signalling strike preparedness hung on the gates of plants in Biala Podlaska Province, work continued as usual at the Radzyn division of PKS [State Motor Transport].

The division also continued to work when the telephone broke off and telexes were coming in without break calling on the workers to follow instructions of the Solidarity authorities.

This "insubordination" had its principles. The specific work of the enterprise as well as the mentality of the workers, good old specialists, made them perceive the outcome of such behavior. In the Radzyn division of PKS, it was known then as well as now that every one of its employees has a part in task of transporting in the course of a year about 10 million passengers to and from work over routes whose total mileage adds up to nearly 6 million kilometers. Thus, meeting its responsibilities toward its passengers was more important than giving in to the strike fever.

Today, a new union organization is active in the Radzyn division of State Motor Transport. This new union has gathered almost all of the "old" members of the former unions, the members to whom the good of the enterprise and of other employees overshadows private concerns. The division's trade union already counts 250 members out of a total of 450 persons employed there. The largest group within the membership is made up of bus drivers and truck drivers and a considerable percentage also comes from service personnel.

Two of the service personnel, Tadeusz Swiercz, engine mechanic and foreman with 27 years of experience, and Konstanty Ciolek, storehouse worker with 23 years of work behind him, speak:

"As a union, we wish to become a partner of the management in making important decisions concerning the job and the workers. At the same time, we want the revived union organization to defend our interests. It should not only defend the worker himself but also protect his rights guaranteed within the constitution and the labor code since it has frequently happened in the past that a director has filed away workers' demands if they were inconvenient to him. Therefore, there was no one to turn to to implement the demands. Now we want to change all that by common action within the union organization."

Barely a year has passed since the PKS Radzyn division's trade union began its activities. Since then, the union has dealt with social and everyday matters of the employees such as individual construction concerns and the allotment of loans for that purpose. The needs of working youth were also acted upon. Soccer matches etc, were organized for their benefit. A volleyball court is being built and vacation trips for children and youth are being organized. There have also been meetings of the new unions with pensioners and retired workers. A group of 76 former workers was thanked for their work and received rewards from the plant's savings.

At the present time, an important task is the activation of the newly-established district consultative commission. Due to the impossibility of creating a supraplant union organization in the transportation division, the Radzyn PKS must make an effort to assure its representatives of places in the commission. This will help keep track of the decisions being made on the many questions presenting themselves before the district administration in Lublin.

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HISTORICAL AWARENESS AS ARENA OF POLITICAL STRUGGLE DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28-29 May 83 pp 3, 4

[Editorial discussion held by TRYBUNA LUDU, entitled: "Historical Awareness and Political Struggle: To Know and To Understand"]

[Text] Society's historical awareness in regard to the issue of political opposition has recently become an arena of heated political and ideological struggle. This was and still continues to be a struggle for the shaping of society's attitude toward its past and through these evaluations the shaping of its attitudes toward the present and indirectly--toward the future.

Why did the opponents of socialism use this history for an arena of political struggle? What is the essence of their manipulation of the nation's events? How deep does devastation run in the historical awareness of society and particularly that of youth: how great is the harm done to the young generation? What is the responsibility of historians and educators for this state of affairs? What should be done currently to disseminate true historical knowledge at the same time shaping such an attitude toward the past that a desirable vision of the future could develop on this groundwork?

These are only some of the questions which come to mind after a more thorough analysis of the events which took place between 1980-1981. The editorial discussion entitled "Historical Awareness and Political Struggle," whose most important excerpts are being placed in today's issue of TRYBUNA LUDU, began with the formulation of these questions.

The following took part in the discussion: Prof Dr Eugeniusz Duraczynski, Prof Dr Marian Leczyk, Docent Dr Ryszard Nazarewicz, Prof Dr Henryk Stabek and Col Prof Dr Kazimierz Sobczak. The editorial staff was represented by Wieslaw S. Debski, Jerzy Kraszewski and Piotr Rzadca.

Great Manipulation

TRYBUNA LUDU: In saying that the political opposition attacked the historical awareness of society in a particularly brutal and ruthless manner, what we have in mind is the serious manipulation of the nation's history which took place between 1980-1981 and even earlier. Biased evaluations of the facts, demagoguery and deceit were used in reinterpreting Poland's history. Reactionary ideological and political trends were reinstated and nationalistic as well as anti-Soviet stereotypes were animated. The state of historical knowledge was deformed in a way that would make it possible to use it in the battle against the regime...

K. Sobczak: Nothing that occurs in our country remains without the influence of the overall international situation. The intensifying ideological conflict between capitalism and socialism must, therefore, have an effect on the course of events in Poland. This conflict is occurring on various levels, however, history is one of those on which it occurs most frequently. That is understandable because historical argumentation serves the justification of current world problems.

What types of arguments were promulgated in the illegal, oppositional publications between 1980-1981? Above all, the socialism was "imposed" upon Poland because the western nations "sold" our country to the Soviet Union. This is the reason for the proposal to revise the agreements from Tehran and Yalta. The cynicism of the authors of these views is based on the fact that they know full well that at both of these conferences no one did any kind of trading with anyone. Then, what were they concerned about? About disturbing the postwar order in Europe in the name of the interests of the western camp.

A second characteristic feature of the said campaign was to reexamine, by the opponents of socialism, our entire history on the pretense that it had been "distorted" in official publications. The third manipulative measure was the circulation of false information from unscientific sources with the aid of which the opposition carried out the so-called straightening out of history.

Several points were selected around which the revision was to be made. Under the guise of a return to Jagiellonian concepts, proposals pushed to the limit were formulated regarding Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations without presenting the substantial changes which occurred after the October Revolution and following World War II. All nationalistic trends and under currents were exposed and praised. Attempts were made at rebuilding Jozef Pilsudski's myth because it was a symbol of nationalism, anti-Sovietism and anticomunism.

One of the successive points of this "historical activity was the attempt at identifying the course of our history exclusively with the development of Christianity on Polish soil. Obviously, this was not to teach the history of the Church but to substantiate that everything from the past, present and future had, has and will continue to have a close connection with the Catholic Church.

E. Duraczynski: We will not argue that history is a field of political battle. It is a well-known fact that current political conflicts are transferred into the historical realm, especially during crucial moments and periods of serious political crises. This is the occurring norm not only in the history of our nation. However, and I stress this, in our circumstances these conflicts take on a particular form because they include the participation of not only professional historians but of wide social spheres. This is related to the fact that we Poles live under particular historical pressure and we are extremely sensitive to it.

M. Leczyk: Polish sensitivity to historical matters is attested to by the fact of many, so to say, national discussions which took place in our country in the past. Rarely has history weighed down so heavily upon literature, the arts, politics and on social awareness in general as it did in Poland. This is a kind of "terror waged by history" even though we are looking entirely in the direction of the future. However, the way in which the past has been interpreted has never before had such a strong bearing on the assessment of the present and was never such a strong factor in direct political struggle and its escalation in 1980-1982. The attack of antisocialist forces focused itself on, among other things, the evaluation of the nation's past because with the aid of history it is possible not only to build but also to destroy. That is why the struggle to cross out the accomplishments of the socialist state from the awareness of society was also waged, as can be described, under the cloak of history. The attempt to deprecate the plebeian trend in our history served this very purpose so that subsequently it could be demonstrated that socialism, which after all has its roots in this trend, is a foreign body on Polish soil. According to this view, the parties representing socialist concepts, labor parties made nothing but mistakes.

In the battle with realistically existing socialism, the opponent needed a distorted and one-sided historical vision of Poland leaning toward a "romantic" vision. And according to the opposition, this vision was best personified by Pilsudski. That is why attempts were also made at exhuming the long buried federalist concepts and justifying the purpose-fulness of the campaign against the East (Soviet Union) and the May coup. As a side-note--in justifying Pilsudski's coup d'etat in 1926, the loudly-proclaimed support for democracy was "forgotten" which this coup clearly weakened by introducing dictatorial rule.

Attempts were even made at undermining the significance of the Polish armed struggle during World War II not only in the East but also in the West. We can recall such publications in the opposition press. The opposition glorified the interwar period not in the name of historical truth but to pit the history of the Second Republic against the history of People's Poland. After all, our young people do not remember those years full of conflict.

R. Nazarewicz: ...I would like to give a characteristic example of such historical manipulation. I once had the opportunity to talk with a group of Solidarity activists in Slask. During the discussion, which

took on a rather honest character, I told them that I had seen their bus in the town square of Katowice bearing a large banner: "Free Political Prisoners." Portraits of J. Pilsudski were being sold from the window of that bus. I asked whether it was logical to glorify a man, under the banners of freedom for political prisoners of which at that time there were exactly three in Poland, under whose rule and that of his successors there were never concurrently less than 6,000 political prisoners! And in 1935, for example, there were 16,000 of them!

I asked this question and realized that these facts were absolutely unknown to a majority of those present. When I said that the mass internment of political opponents in prisons by the "sanacja" regime was a method of governing the country, I was met with disbelief. These primarily young people really did not know about this. How easily they had been lied to and deceived...

E. Duraczynski: I would like to show with yet another example the immense cynicism and hypocrisy of this great manipulation which was engaged in by our adversary. Knowing full well that common historical awareness makes use of symbols--persons--symbols, there was no hesitation in lining up the following in one row: Pilusdski, Dmowski and Witos! And in addition, this was done at a time when we, the so-called regime historians, were accused of "falsifying" history! Cynicism, falsification of historical facts and ruthlessness in political struggle surpassed all boundaries. All of this fell on the soil of the vast lack of knowledge on the part of the young generation.

Within the Sphere of Legends

TRUBYNA LUDU: The designs of the adversaries of socialism who engaged in attacks against the historical awareness of society were obvious. What facilitated the activity of rightist groups? Where do we look for the causes of this low level of historical awareness among society? If the standard of historical education in Poland is very high and if the 1970's have brought about further progress in this domain, then the level of disseminating historical knowledge is low. Thus, should not the sources of society's susceptibility to foreign slogans be sought in this disproportion between the state of research studies and that of dissemination?

E. Duraczynski: Let us first answer the question what historical awareness of society is? We have been discussing this for years and in reference to the last remarks made, I would like to recall, among other things, the reflections of leading historians and professors: Jan Baszkiewicz, Jaremy Macieszewski, Jerzy Maternicki and Franciszek Byszek. Without struggling for academic definitions, it may be said that the historical awareness of society is made up of the following: society's knowledge of the nation's past; the sum total of emotional opinions about this past and the conviction, shared or not, that incentives for present-day civic and political attitudes may be derived from the past.

I don't know whether you agree but it seems to me that the common historical awareness of our society and especially that of our young people is in large part made up of myths, legends, half-and quarter-truths. This is related to the particular wealth of historical and political experiences of contemporary generations. The opposition was capable of causing such great havoc among attitudes because its slogan of "straightening out" history was aimed at the emotional attitude toward the past and the low level of historical knowledge...

M. Leczyk: Reference was made to the state of historical knowledge and the state of historical awareness. I agree with the thesis formulated by TRYBUNA LUDU that there exists a great gap between them despite the enormous strides of historical and academic instruction. Where does this disproportion come from? I feel that the degree of popularizing historical knowledge and the methods used in disseminating it are not without fault here. Many simplifications were made here, often using assumptions made in advance and forgetting that any and all simplifications, half-truths and concealment ultimately turn against historical knowledge and consequently against the interests of our nation.

Unfortunately historical awareness, especially common historical awareness is very susceptible to all sorts of influence; it is unstable. The events which took place between 1980-81, the propaganda of the opponents of socialism caused a kind of rupture between the categories of state and nation--categories of vital importance to the political culture of society. Unfortunately, these categories were not always treated jointly in the past in our country and during the intensified activity of the opposition, this approach was actually totally cast aside. The adversaries of socialism were perfectly aware of the role played by historical awareness: that it can build national unity, which is understood as thinking in unison within these categories, that it can also destroy it.

Polish historians will have to make up these losses for a long time to come in the historical and national awareness which came about as a result of the sown confusion and whose consequence was the weakening of the state and agitation within the nation and society.

R. Nazarewicz: It seems to me that between 1980-1981, the weakness of our historiography and particularly that of propaganda was laid bare. The adversary took advantage quite skillfully of all that was left unsaid and sometimes hushed, as the saying goes, for "political reasons." It turned out that these "political reasons" turned into their own adversaries and became a feeding ground for the opposition.

We can also speak of the huge gap which exists in the teaching of history to people who were prepared for production work, beginning with students in trade schools (this has already been remedied) and ending with polytechnical schools. For example, in their political science programs they found themselves lacking room for modern history.

H. Slabek: ... Is it not surprising that at that time, the opposition promulgated symbols from the Pilsudski and National Democratic camps--not without the participation of certain Polish historians? Was this only circumstance? Did this involvement on the part of some of our scholars with the right wing, an involvement which was the outcome of conscious political choice, not cause the greatest harm--harm aggravated by the influence of emigre historiography?

It appears to me that changes occurred in the overall picture of our historiography which later had a bearing on the outwardly surprising outbreak in 1980-1981. Let us recall that following the first half of the 1950's, historians who were tied to the tradition of the leftwing, came to a valid conclusion on the basis of experience and acquired knowledge, that this tradition also requires a critical approach. Their stand reached a continually growing circle of readers. In the meantime, among a certain segment of the authors who wrote about the history of rightwing political orientation and parties, the tendency to practice apologetas began in time to pass almost for an act of patriotic merit and pride. In turn, having perceived that the vision of the past is being deformed, the authorities also started to defend themselves with administrative means. However, this facilitated remarkably the acceptance of all that was taken as half or quarter legal.

I would like to stress the significance of studies which applied a scientific criterion--equally critical--to all trends. These studies brought in and continue to bring in a constant contribution to the study of our history. Within this context, I would like to refer to, among other things, the dissertations of Jerzy Janusz Terej. This is an example of not only an objective and discerning approach to the subject but also of civil courage because I remember when he was attacked for his book on the Home Army entitled, "At the Cross-Roads" ["Na Rozstajach Drog"]. He was attacked because he infringed upon the apologetic convention of writing in the name of historical truth.

M. Leczyk: I believe that the degree of havoc, which has developed in the awareness of society and particularly in that of young people, is serious. Among others, a part of the teaching community was subjected to the harmful influence. Many teachers still feel lost, helpless and incapable of coping with the complicated problems of our history. Many of them consciously avoid the so-called difficult problem matter.

K. Sobczak: The pressure exerted by the opposition and its "historical" views on the teaching community was very strong--it advanced from the outside and at the same time from youth who were also subjected to the indoctrination of the opponent. What's more, the community of historians was divided as well and many of them performed numerous services for the opposition.

H. Slabek: All of a sudden, emotions began to rule and that is when the phenomenon of indiscriminate perception occurred...

E. Duraczynski: I am against using terms such as "official" or "unofficial" economics, sociology or history. There is only scientific or unscientific. It so happens that scientific is official while anything unofficial is as a rule devoid of all scientific discipline.

Responsibility of Scholars

TRYBUNA LUDU: Have we been able to answer the question why during 1980-1981 the resistance of marxist historians was so weak? Why the stand taken by many of them was passive in the face of arguments imposed by the Right wing which was assisted by some scholars? Why were all of these distortions which we discussed here not questioned publicly? Why was there so little debate?

E. Duraczynski: This question can be expanded to include the entire scope of the humanities...

K. Sobczak: I would not agree with a thesis formulated so categorically. In my opinion, the community of marxist historians took an active, ideological stand in colleges and universities as well as in learning centers. It is also true that the external pressure was so great that this community had difficulty even voicing its views, let alone publishing anything. However, the community of party members-historians never abandoned the marxist methodology of historical research.

M. Leczyk: It is considerably more easy to make an attack on the functioning scholarly theses than to defend them. The opponent had at his disposal not only abundant technical means; he was also able to assail the public with brochures, which were generally worthless, without regard for scientific and scholarly truth or the use of scientific material. In taking advantage of simplifications and the fact that not all complex matters of our past, particularly our most recent past had been clarified, the method of scientific and scholarly integrity was subjected to political struggle. It was difficult also to enter into polemics with the opponent who was assisted by brochures... However, the communities of marxist historians did not give up the defense of scientific theses; they carried on discussions and presented their point of view. It is also true, however, that this was not always reflected in direct journalistic activity; it was not disseminated.

E. Duraczynski: When I observed the journalistic eruption of 1980-1981; texts often written by people with considerable scholarly accomplishments, I could not get over my amazement, and I am amazed to this day, how it happened that many of the writers had forgotten about the rules and regulations which bind a learned person to responsibility. They had forgotten or did not want to remember in committing themselves to a ruthless political struggle which, as we have already mentioned, was waged under the banner of "straightening out history" and which was, in fact, conducted in a manner which distorted it. We have already mentioned those areas which were to be "straightened out." But how?! If our historiography did not clear up specific issues in one or the other

instance, then let us take a look at how these unclarified "blank spots" were cleared up! Entire areas of new ones were created with the kind of interpretation that had nothing in common with the strict principles which apply to educating or the responsibilities of a historian.

Each generation has the right and obligation to present its own view of history. This was beautifully written about by the brilliant historian, party intellectual and ideological communist, who died 4 years ago, Jerzy Janusz Terej, in his book entitled, "Meetings with Clio" ["Spotkania z Klio"] which was published in 1975. This is what he writes: "Each generation interprets the history of its own nation in a way which is fitting only unto itself, applies to it its own scale of reference and examines it from the perspective of newly discovered sources of information. Therefore, history is not and will never be a closed science. Past events will always be enriched with the views of contemporaries and the past will also always be a topic of dispute and controversy. It will cause divergence of opinion and polarization of attitudes. Differences in philosophies of life as well as ideological and political criteria dictate and will continue to dictate them. The permanent revaluation of society's historical awareness is based on these controversies."

Within the context of this statement, J. J. Terej spoke about the great responsibility of a historian for the dissemination of truth.

K. Sobczak: ...Because academic controversies, historical controversy over the interpretation of our history must go on constantly--they are an important element of the development of historical knowledge...

E. Duraczynski: ...Without these controversies knowledge could simply not develop. A moment ago, I quoted a communist historian and marxist. I would now like to refer to the views of a renown historian and not a marxist or communist, Tadeusz Manteuffe, and to his book published several years ago in which he writes: "A historian should possess a profound sense of responsibility and should be guided by two principles. One being that he present the truth and only the truth such as he perceives it on the basis of sources of information. The other--that as a historian he does not have the right and may not harm public interests or those of private individuals." This is an excellent, profound and wise maxim, which applies particularly to modern history.

Why have many professional historians forgotten about these principles? Is it because they allowed themselves to be swept away by emotions or because they have chosen a specific political option? I believe that a certain segment really did succumb to emotion while others simply chose an antisocialist stand and that is when all scientific and scholarly principles and discipline, about which Tadeusz Manteuffel wrote, ceased to interest them.

R. Nazarewicz: Unfortunately, manipulation of history began earlier than in the 1980's and has not yet ended. About a month ago, I attended a meeting with history teachers in Biala Podlaska. One of them claimed I had said that the PPR [Polish Workers Party] did not aim for the

outbreak of the uprising in 1944, therefore, the Warsaw Uprising took place despite the position taken by PPR whereas, the said teacher tried to prove to me, that there is a quote in an important work about the history of the fighting Warsaw which says that at that time, the PPR called to arms: "All Poles who are still asking themselves and others what to do and who are not fighting should be given a slogan-command: to arms." This quote was taken from GWARDZISTA dated 30 July 1944. However, the author of the book broke off the quote in this spot. What was left out is the rest of the quote which reads as follows: "To the woods! It is high time that they found themselves in the partisan detachments, in the People's Army. It is high time that they left the cities which due to war conditions can hinder their struggle with the enemy." Thus, PPR's stand was diametrically distorted in this manner. This matter was cleared up here. However, teachers seldom have the opportunity to present their uncertainties.

We recently had to do with various interpretations of the history of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising. Interpretations in keeping with the truth, which pointed out the vast output of our historians, dominated. However, certain press publications made it seem as if though only organizations connected with the London camp offered assistance and support to the Jewish population. Of course, I am not questioning or minimizing this valuable assistance. But ignoring and silencing, by some journalists and not only journalists, the facts which speak on behalf of the prominent role of PPR and of the camp of the Polish Left in organizing armed resistance of Polish society including the Jewish population--is, after all, a certain form of falsifying history.

We also had to deal with antagonism, accusations and the creating of feelings of hatred even posthumously toward historians who refuted certain myths and drew out material and documents which were inconvenient to the bourgeois interpretation of Poland's modern history. This took place even in the columns of scientific and scholarly journals. There were even cases where some of our former comrades wanted to endear themselves to the most severe "hard-line" spheres of our adversaries, for example, by negating the fact that AK [Home Army] was a heterogeneous and differentiated organization which included progressive as well as democratic and leftist spheres but in which extremist rightwing elements were also to be found which as early as in the years of the occupation took on fratricidal activity. Specific forms of sectarianism and the distortion of historical facts manifest themselves in the attempts at presenting the AK as a monolith--only in white or black.

And yet another matter, while we are at it. I believe that it would be worthwhile to bring in historians for participation in the historical education of the younger generation of journalists and this by tackling the most irritating and severe problems in order to update their knowledge and to make them impervious to the most treacherous propaganda moves made by the opponents of socialism. At the same time, historians would undoubtedly benefit quite a lot from this as well.

How To Educate

TRYBUNA LUDU: From what we have said so far, it appears that the urgent issue here is the correction of mistakes made in the dissemination of historical knowledge and the preparation of a cohesive and sound program of history education. In Poland, it has reached the rank of a complex ideological and political issue. The struggle for the historical awareness of society is becoming one of the major ideological tasks.

E. Duraczynski: I agree that this is a complex matter. Let us first consider, however, who has and what kind of chances of shaping the historical awareness of our fellow countrymen? At one time, the family fulfilled this type of role. Today, its influence is growing weaker. On the other hand, the mass media in the widest sense of the word as well as fine literature and the historical sciences have gained great influence. However, the latter unfortunately have the weakest social influence which is a phenomenon worth investigating...

H. Slabek: Most likely, we have had too few major and loudly publicized debates and controversy.

E. Duraczynski: That is possible. We probably also have too few colorfully written syntheses and our outlays are probably too small. Many factors contribute to this.

K. Sobczak: Scientific and scholarly work shape the long-term historical awareness. And this is their undeniable value.

E. Duraczynski: That is precisely what I wanted to get to. That which comes about through research would be an irrefutable accomplishment and there is no doubt about it. However, what kind of mechanisms should be activated so that, that which has been elaborated through this research may be carried over into good school texts? For I would like to call attention to the great gap between the level of historical knowledge and the interpretation of historical knowledge which is contained in school texts, and the level of scientific and scholarly monographs. How should these scientific accomplishments be carried over to journalism, to radio and television broadcasts and to the film medium?

These are urgent problems in need of solving. And now I will pass over to the said program of historical education. How do I picture it? In this program, I would like to take into account all those means which are capable of shaping historical awareness so that everything that was magnificent as well as that which was wrong in our past could be properly perceived in a way in which we spoke about--with a feeling of responsibility for what is said. Civic responsibility.

In very general terms, what we need is the kind of formula of learned historical awareness as was presented at the First National Theoretical-Ideological Conference last year and which found its synthetic expression

in the words of the first CC secretary. He stated that what we have in mind is the kind of learned historical awareness "in which regard for the patriotic and progressive heritage of past generations will unite with the skill of deriving lessons from the experiences of the past."

The program which we will build should issue forth from true knowledge of the state of historical awareness. Without it, we shall continue to blunder into all kinds of, to use a devalued word, "voluntarisms". However, to know what this awareness is does not meant to cajole all commonplace notions.

We should be guided, as was already mentioned here, by the said particular sensitivity of our society to its own past, to its own history. In my opinion, all attempts of destroying this sensitivity are doomed to failure and would, in any case, be harmful. The third point of the program of historical education is that we should refrain from pitting romantic traditions against positivistic traditions or viceversa.

M. Leczyk: This has to be a synthesis of both because they both express currents in our history which are of great significance and they also express the aspirations and attitudes of significant segments of society toward roads leading to independence and toward the most urgent tasks facing the nation.

E. Duraczynski: Such harmony would enable us to unite the emotional attitude toward history with its rational image. This is the third pillar of that which I call a broad program of historical education. And finally, the fourth: harmonizing the attachment we feel to our own national, historical past with the understanding of everyday history. Our historical awareness, that general one, is exceptionally Polonocentric. And this is when, upon this background, all kinds of myths and legends are born: here--"bulwarks"; there--national "uniqueness"; and elsewhere, an attitude of disregard toward certain countries or complexes toward others.

B. Slabek: It would also be a good idea to democratize our historical writing more and to focus it more strongly not on the history of the elite but on that of society as a whole. It is interesting to note that during the period when demands were being made the opposition did not speak up for the upgrading of the historical achievements of the masses or that of their representations.

M. Leczyk: However, historical awareness and more broadly speaking, national awareness, is shaped primarily by recent history. In any case, this represents a more immediate influence, I would even say political influence. And if that is the case, then it is not only scholars who play an enormous role in the shaping of this awareness. Recent years and months prove that family and community discussions, discussions between the generations as well as propaganda, all have an enormous influence. This can be seen in the example of history or Polish literature education in schools. Teachers can best say how much of the knowledge acquired at home or from nonschool surroundings is carried over directly to the student's own attitudes and views.

As far as modern history and politics are concerned, the borderline between them is imperceptible; one cannot tell where it exists; it is as elusive as fog. That is why I agree with the viewpoint that the pressure of the current political situation on that which we do as historians is enormous. The entire problem lies in not disturbing the bond with the social perception of history and in shaping a rational, scientifically-critical image of the past and of historical awareness.

And still another matter. In the discussion, we did not broach the subject of historical traditions. These exist as they are and we have no influence over them. However, this does not mean that we should not conduct a selection of these traditions and in this way influence the shape of historical awareness or carry out their selection from the point of view of their social progress. In other words, this past should be, so to say, organized into tradition, the progressive continuity of tradition should be shaped and as Prof Slabek mentioned, it should be linked to the plebeian current in our history which, after all, cannot be eradicated and which led us to People's Poland.

TRYBUNA LUDU: This discussion could not have exhausted all the complex and difficult problems associated with this large-scale manipulation which was carried out by the antisocialist opposition in the area of history. We were in agreement on the scale of harm dealt society and especially the young generation. The confusion which was brought about is enormous. The extent of havoc results not only and not as much from the existence of "black spots" in our historiography as it does from the fact that the opposition incorporated its own "history lessons" into the strategies and scenario of political struggle and made them a part of the complex activity against socialist ideology.

The fact that society's historical knowledge is limited and superficial played a major role. This lack of knowledge encompasses not only those fragments of history which we had interpreted superficially but it concerns nearly all of history. To determine the causes of this state of affairs is perhaps one of the more urgent tasks of historians and journalists.

We also agreed that the method of disseminating historical knowledge requires further thought and discussion. What is needed is a uniform concept of disseminating historical knowledge, a concept in which there would be room for discussion but which would be based solely on objective, Marxist class analysis. This is indispensable not only to know how the historical process followed its course but in order to understand its mechanisms.

The following took part in the discussion:

--Prof Dr Eugeniusz Duraczynski whose field is modern history. Among his more than 90 scholarly papers and books are such entries as: "Underground Europe 1939-1945" ["Europa podziemna 1939-1945"], "War and Occupation" ["Wojna i Okupacja"], "Controversy and Conflict"

["Kontrowersje i konflikty"]. He received, among other things, an award from the editorial board of POLITYKA for his scholarly and journalistic activity as well as a collective award from the Scientific Secretary of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences]. He is the head of the Department of Science and Education of KC PZPR.

--Prof Dr Marian Leczyk is the author of many publications in the field of modern history. The most important of these are: "The Polish National Committee and Antanta and the United States Between 1917-1919" ["Komitet Narodowy Polski a Antanta i Stany Zjednoczone w latach 1917-1919"] and "Policies of the Second Republic toward the USSR Between 1925-1939" ["Polityka II Rzeczypospolitej wobec ZSRR w latach 1925-1939"]. In 1939, a collection of methodological-historical essays appeared entitled, "Living History" ["Historia żywa"]. The author of these works and laureat of the award of the Minister of National Defense is dean of the Department of Political Science at the Military Political Academy.

--Docent Dr Ryszard Nazarewicz is a PPR and People's Army activist. His scholarly work is devoted primarily to the period of World War II. He is the author if the following books: "On the Upper Warta and Pilica" ["Nad górną Wartą i Pilicą"] as well as "Roads to Liberation" ["Drogi do wyzwolenia"], which were awarded by the Minister of National Defense. He is an academic employee of the Labor Movement Institute of the Higher School of Social Sciences at CC PZPR and the recipient of the TRYBUNA LUDU award.

--Prof Dr Henryk Slabek is an academic employee of the PAN Institute of History. He devotes his scholarly work to social history and is the author of the following publications: "Agrarian Policies of PPR" ["Polityka agrarna PPR"] as well as "Polish Revolution--Nature and Stages of Development" ["Rewolucja polska--stadia rozwoju i charakter"]. He is also the recipient of awards given by POLITYKA and TRYBUNA LUDU.

--Col Prof Dr Kazimierz Sobozak is the author of 250 scholarly publications, primarily in the field of the modern history of the army and political history. The most important of these are: "The Liberation of Warsaw--January 1945" ["Wyzwolenie Warszawy--styczeń 1945"], "Direction--the Baltic. The Liberation of the Northern Territories by the Soviet Army 1944-1945" ["Kierunek Bałtyk--wyzwolenie ziem polnocnych przez Armię Radziecką 1944-1945"] and "Lenino--Warsaw--Berlin". For his work, he has received awards given by the Minister of National Defense and most recently he was given the Ludwik Waryński Award. He is a commanding officer at the Wanda Wasilewska Military Historical Institute.

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CENSORSHIP POWERS IN PRESS LAW CRITICIZED

Warsaw LAD in Polish No 17, 24 Apr 83 p 3

[A translation of the draft press law can be found under the title "Text of Draft Press Law Published" in JPRS 83589, 1 June 1983, No 2148 of this series, pp 14-33]

[Article by Maciej M. Letowski]

[Text] "The Polish People's Republic guarantees citizens freedom of speech and press...This freedom is ensured by providing printing facilities, paper supplies ...means of communication, the radio and other essential material resources for the use of the working people and their organizations." Thus says Article 83 of the constitution in effect in our country.

In order to make this constitutional norm more than just empty rhetoric, laws and practice in accordance with them are necessary. Up to now, neither the laws nor the practice in this area have been very satisfactory.

The press law currently in effect is based on a 1938 decree issued by the president of the republic, and thus comes from a period that was not very conducive to democratic freedoms. In past decades practice has departed from the decree and specially from constitutional provisions.

It is therefore no surprise that the reform process initiated in August 1980 also affected the sphere of freedom of speech and press. Social agreements included a demand for two laws--a censorship law and a press law. This demand later turned up in the programs of all main political forces in our country, and was endorsed by journalists, academics and artists. This, we remember, surprised outside observers. But in our situation the demand by creative circles for a censorship law was not masochism on their part. Quite the contrary. They wanted to define the legal limits of censorship, seeing as it is necessary.

After long discussions, the censorship law was passed by the Sejm in July 1981. Let us recall that it precisely regulates such important matters as exemption from preliminary monitoring, specifies situations in which the censor can alter texts in publications, acknowledges the right to indicate the fact that a text has been censored, and provides legal redress in the form of appeal of its decisions.

The censorship law has been in effect for too short a time--two and a half months--for us to assess fully the benefits it has brought. The decree on martial law, after all, imposed certain restrictions. Let us hope that these are temporary restrictions and that once martial law is terminated all the provisions of the censorship law will go into effect again.

We have had to wait a fairly long time for the draft of a second important law, the draft of a press law that was recently submitted for discussion. Its significance lies in the fact that it regulates such important matters as who can be a publisher, the rights and obligations of journalists, the right to criticize, to provide and receive information, to make corrections, etc. Before I present my thoughts on this draft, I would like to dwell upon the basic problems, since one or another constitutional provision depends on their solution.

We must first consider the reasons why a discrepancy arose in Poland between constitutional norm and practice. Now, I believe that this discrepancy resulted from a centralist-bureaucratic deformation in the manner of exercising authority. Because of this deformation all initiative lay in the hands of the authorities, while society was supposed to be only the more or less obedient executor of their orders. In this situation the press was treated by the authorities as a tool for generating favorable opinion toward their policies. In extreme situations this took the form of manipulation of public opinion, as in the case of the "propaganda of success."

Some periodicals demanded the right to reflect public opinion by convincing their mentors that this was in their real interest. These efforts, however, were usually ineffective. Many of the authorities believed in a false image of reality, an image they themselves created. This brought them a dramatic personal and political disaster. Some of them appeared before general courts; others are awaiting trial before the Tribunal of State. This is a lesson from which we ought to draw conclusions for the future.

What reservations do we hear in regard to freedom of the press? Most often they are expressed as a fear of the destabilizing effect of the press on the political system. Those who express these fears maintain that whenever the press has gained more freedom to air the public's feelings and views, a threat has arisen to the system in our country.

If one were to agree with this, it would mean that our political system is incapable of handling freedom of speech and press. I hope this is not the case.

To show the incorrectness of this view I will begin, perhaps perversely, by admitting that those who expound it are right. Like them, I believe that the press can do a lot of harm. A totally unfettered press can indulge in sensationalism, attract readers with "blood and thunder" on the first pages of newspapers, and calumniate people and values. It is conducive to the isolation of political elites from society and to a loss of confidence in what is said in the mass media, and finally it leads directly to despotism.

One hundred and fifty years ago, Alexis de Toqueville wrote about this subject as follows: "In the sphere of freedom of the press there is no golden mean between subjugation and tyranny. In order to obtain the invaluable good that

comes from freedom of the press, one must accept the inevitable evil it brings. In wanting to obtain the good while avoiding the evil, we fall victim to one of those illusions cherished by sick nations when, tired and enervated by struggle, they seek a way that would allow hostile ideas and contradictory principles to live together on the same earth."

What good can freedom of the press give to the authorities? It gives them an invaluable thing: information on the real views of those whom they govern. And no centers for polling the public opinion of the press will replace this. If a press independent of the government states that the governed are satisfied, the authorities can sleep peacefully. If a press that has been subjugated by the government speaks about the contentment of the governed, their sleep can never be peaceful.

When, however, the press reports that society is discontented, this information is even more valuable. For it gives the authorities time for critical analysis of their conduct and for any imperative changes in it before these changes are compelled--not always in a parliamentary manner--by society itself. And though the first reaction of anyone who is criticized is naturally to shut the mouth of the person criticizing him, the wise ruler will resist such a temptation. For if the critic does not express the views of most of society, he is not a threat, but if he does express the views of wider social groups it will do no good to muzzle him, because someone else will soon appear in his place.

This is not the only advantage of a free press. Only a free press gives the government the certainty that its views will be heard by the governed, because of the recipient's confidence in the medium. Even information about the weather is received with doubt if it is given by a newspaper in which the reader has no confidence.

All right, someone will say, but a free press can be used not only by the "healthy" part of society but also by an adversary. Perhaps. And there is a remedy for that. The above-cited Toqueville offered it: "I realize that people who intend to incite riots by means of the press try to confine it to a few powerful organs, but I really cannot understand why official adherents of the existing system and people who support the accepted law expect to weaken the influences of the press by concentrating it." And a point that sounds like the advice of old Machiavelli: "The best way to neutralize the power of newspapers is to increase their number."

Much could be said about the advantages of a free press. One could write that it inculcates political culture, reveals the diverse and sometimes conflicting interests existing within society itself and not only between it and the authorities, and serves as a vehicle of communication between various social groups in matters of little consequence from the viewpoint of the authorities. One could write a great deal about this, but it is high time to come down to earth, that is, return to the draft of the press law.

The preamble of the draft sounds encouraging. It says the law is supposed to help enforce the right to freedom of speech and press, the right to information and the right of citizens to influence public policy and disseminate public opinion.

Also encouraging is the statement that almost anyone can be a publisher, provided his publishing goals do not threaten the constitutional system of the state and do not violate the law.

Unfortunately, many detailed provisions seem to deviate from these declarations. Thus, the draft takes on the exclusiveness of a concession system, which means that the conducting of any press publishing activity requires a preliminary license. Other types of legislation often accept a different application (registration) system. I believe that in future discussions of the draft we should consider the possibility of having our law accept a mixed press system. Thus, some of the press publishers (particularly those having the widest distribution) would have to obtain a preliminary license, while others could conduct their activity after simple registration. This applies above all to those publishers who on the basis of the censorship law now in effect are exempted from the strictures of preliminary monitoring (e.g., the internal bulletins of church institutions, scientific societies and associations).

I likewise have doubts about the wording of articles describing the conditions in which it is possible to distinguish between licenses for publishing periodicals. One can be turned down when one intends to publish a periodical that would coincide with existing publications in regard to title, program or thematic scope, and when one cannot prove a social need for a new newspaper or journal. Such elastic and imprecise formulations may give rise to arbitrary decisions. It is better to leave the decision on the social need for a new publication to the readers, not to the officials. If this were done, we would have healthy competition and a diversified press market.

I have particular reservations about those provisions in the draft of the press law that can be construed as justification for revoking a license for press activity owing to preliminary interference by a publication monitoring office.

The draft, moreover, authorizes the Council of State to work out a detailed procedure for granting and revoking licenses for publishing activity. I believe these matters are too important to be regulated in an extralegal manner. The fact that legislative acts can lead to practice that is distinctly inconsistent with the law itself has been proved to us by numerous experiences in the past. Therefore, caution would indicate legal regulation of this problem.

The organ that would be responsible for granting and revoking licenses is to be a new one, the Main Office for Publishing Affairs. It is supposed to arise from the transformation of the existing Chief Office for Monitoring of Publications and Entertainments. Thus, it would be an organ with enormous powers in press matters, combining the right to exercise censorship with the right to grant and revoke licenses. In this regard it would require particular supervision so that it would not restrict the freedom of speech and press proclaimed by the draft of the press law.

The Press Council provided for in the draft, having the right to advise and propose in such vital matters as the developmental trends of the press, distribution of publications and use of paper, could serve this purpose. This council

is to work under the Council of Ministers or the Council of State. The second solution seems to be better and in accordance with the solution accepted by the censorship law. The Press Council is to include representatives of publishers, journalists, the state administration, academia and artistic circles. The draft, however, does not stipulate the procedure for setting up this council. In view of its powers, the representativeness of the council is of great significance. Here too, unfortunately, we are dealing with a delegation for an organ under which it would possibly have to function.

The draft of the press law imposes on the journalist the obligation to comply with the program of the periodical of which he is an employee. What is important, however, is that this obligation cannot constitute a basis for restricting the journalist's right to freedom of conscience or the right to criticism. The draft contains a number of clear and useful provisions in regard to the right to collect information and the right to criticism; it stipulates in principle the proper procedure for publishing corrections. The provisions pertaining to the obligation of the press to publish official statements need to be amplified. This obligation was meant to apply to the entire press irrespective of differences in form and content of publications. I believe we should take into account the specific characteristics of certain publications, especially those issued by the Church.

As we know, the censorship law recognizes the right of the author of a text to demand that censorship of his article be indicated. This authorial right should be reflected in those provisions of the press law that set forth the obligations of editors of periodicals. One positive feature of the draft is that it provides for the possibility of appealing administrative decisions in press matters to the Main Administrative Court.

These are my most substantive comments on the draft of the press law. I could, of course, present a number of specific reservations, but there is no space for that here. "My" delegates will surely do that when the draft comes up for discussion in the appropriate committees of the Sejm.

Finally, I would like to express my hope that the press law will not be less liberal than the censorship law passed in 1981. That would not only be illogical but socially and politically harmful.

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CSO: 2600/934

STATUTE OF POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

Warsaw STATUT POLSKIEJ ZJEDNOCZONEJ PARTII ROBOTNICZEJ in Polish 1982 pp 1-60

[Text includes changes and amendments approved by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR in July 1981]

[Text] I. The Party--Its Character and Goals

The Polish United Workers Party is the party of Polish communists, struggling for the interests of the working class and working people in general and for the building in Poland of a socialist system.

The party--faithful to the causes of communism, whose victory will bring permanent peace to humanity, free working people from class exploitation, injustice and an uncertain tomorrow, from war, poverty and degradation--considers the building of socialism in Poland to be its historical mission. Only a socialist system can assure the development of civil rights and deeply humanistic relationships among people. Only socialism guarantees the independence and sovereignty of the Polish state.

The PZPR nurtures among its members and in all of society intense patriotism and attitudes of sacrifice in work for the good of the country, respect for national values, and steadfast loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. The program goals of the PZPR result from Lenin's teachings on the party--the vanguard of the working class, the leading force for building socialism. These goals are corroborated by Poland's historical experience and the international workers and communist movement.

The PZPR, guided by the theory of Marxism-Leninism, embodies its principles in life in accordance with the requirements of concrete Polish political, social, economic and cultural conditions. Taking into consideration its own experiences and those of the fraternal parties, the party shapes its policy in a manner that promotes the strengthening of the leading role of the party in the state and confidence in it among the widest mass of society, and that popularizes the experience of building socialism and the process of social changes.

The party bases its internal life on the principles of democratic centralism.

The party derives inspiration for the ideological motives of its activity from the treasury of the Polish nation's patriotism, from the progressive traditions

of the struggle for national and social liberation and the tradition of struggle "For Your Freedom and Ours."

The party proudly continues the revolutionary traditions of the Polish worker movement; it inherits the accomplishments of the First Proletariat, the SDKPiL [Social-Democratic Party of the Kingdom of Poland and of Lithuania], the PPS [Polish Socialist Party]-Left, the KPP [Communist Party of Poland (prewar)], the PPR [Polish Workers Party] and the left wing of the PPS.

From its very beginning, the Polish revolutionary movement was formed under the sign of solidarity in the struggle of the proletariat of all countries, of brotherhood in arms with the Russian proletariat that overthrew the czar and executed the first successful socialist revolution. The struggle of the progressive forces of the Polish nation was crowned with victory thanks to the defeat of nazism by the Soviet Union and the antifascist forces of the nations of the world. Today this historically ascertained solidarity and brotherhood unites the PZPR with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with communists of the entire world. The party supports the unity of the communist and worker movement. They are united by an awareness of the ties and friendship with all class allies worldwide, especially in the countries of the socialist community. The PZPR is the leading and guiding political force of the PRL [Polish People's Republic]; it is the vanguard of the working class, which in alliance with the peasants and intelligentsia, carried on the struggle for national and social liberation.

The PZPR is concerned that the conduct of state officials is in accord with the goals and principles of socialism, and about the improvement of operations of the state apparatus, improving its efficiency, eliminating bureaucratic accretions and creating a favorable climate for public collaboration with organs of the state government as well as strengthening its authority.

The basic method used by the party to fulfill its leading role is the influence exerted by the party via its members on the operations of the organs of the government, the administration and social organizations; the utilization of public opinion and comments; the extensive use of consultation on prepared resolutions and decisions that are of prime importance to society.

The PZPR, working within the National Unity Front and collaborating with allied political parties, has as its goal the development and strengthening of socialist democracy and developing the strength of the Polish state. It places special emphasis on strengthening the role of the Sejm and people's councils, the development of social organizations and various forms of self-government. In uniting working people around the building of socialism, the PZPR nurtures socialist consciousness, combats reactionary ideology and struggles against antisocialist forces.

In striving to eliminate completely the exploitation of man by man, the PZPR is struggling to shape socialist relations in the cities and rural areas based on the full realization of the socialist principle of social justice, the universal compliance with human rights and respect for human dignity. The party is concerned about preserving social order, about full realization of rights and about the obligations of each citizen vis-a-vis society and the state.

In serving the Polish nation, the PZPR strives to improve the material and cultural level of working people. To this end, the PZPR develops a strategy for the planned development of the national economy, modernizing and expanding its potential and developing scientific and technical ideas.

Faithful to the principle of the worker-peasant alliance, the PZPR strives to assure economic and cultural progress in the rural areas and continuously to increase agricultural production on private, cooperative and state farms. In supporting all forms of rural cooperatives and self-government, the party strives to develop and modernize agriculture, guaranteeing its high efficiency and strengthening the socialist character of the state.

The PZPR believes that one of its main tasks is to support the comprehensive development of education, culture and art, to support health care and the natural environment, science, technology and to utilize fully their achievements in the process of building socialism.

The party unites the intelligentsia with the masses of people, strengthens its links with the working class, strives to train highly qualified cadres that are dedicated to socialism and that apply their knowledge, skill and experience to the best advantage.

The party is concerned about raising the younger generation in the spirit of socialist ideals, about cherishing the fatherland, work and service for its good; about expanding social action among youth, assuring them proper conditions for education and work and comprehensive development. The party paves the way for innovation and initiative by youth, it cares about youth participation in the activities of the organs of government, self-government and in developing the economy and culture. The party supports the activities of youth unions that serve socialism.

The party is concerned about the socialist character of the union movements, about their political unity and multilateral activity in serving working people, in defending their interests, about their coresponsibility for the manufacturing process, for the proper and efficient functioning of workplaces and institutions.

The PZPR is the instrument for fully realizing the idea of extensive participation of the masses of working people in directing the state and social life. The party is concerned about the extensive participation of nonparty people in state and social activities.

The party resolutely combats all attempts to use democracy for purposes that are inimical to socialism; it combats social parasitism, incidences of illegality and abuse; it instills conscious discipline and concern about social property. It requires exceptionally high moral requirements of its members, especially party cadres who should possess the attributes of integrity, modesty and dedication in the struggle against social evils.

The PZPR gathers within its ranks politically knowledgeable, socially active and professionally generous working people. They unite in order to serve the

Polish nation and the socialist fatherland. Joining the party means freely accepting all obligations and responsibilities, subordinating oneself to the requirements of the party statute, and complying with the principle of democratic centralism. Every PZPR member is obligated to strengthen the authority of the party, to present and defend its policy, to participate in the activities of the basic party organizations and to execute party tasks.

PZPR members are obligated to strengthen socialist interpersonal relationships, mutual goodwill, comradely collaboration and help.

Party committees are obligated to work in close contact with the working class, peasants and working intelligentsia, with PZPR members and candidates, listening attentively to suggestions and opinions, inviting them to participate actively in party work, strengthening mutual trust and nurturing political, social and professional activity.

The PZPR concerns itself with the defense of the country and the peaceful welfare of the nation. In the Polish alliance with the Soviet Union, the party envisions the condition of independence, inviolability of borders and the socialist development of our country.

The party inspires active Polish participation in the activities of the countries of the socialist community; it cares about strengthening the Warsaw Pact and CEMA--important instruments in the collaboration of fraternal countries.

The unity of the community of socialist states results from the ideological links among its communist and worker parties; it is based on the principle of fraternal cooperation and mutual aid of sovereign socialist states that have equal rights. This unity augments the forces of socialism throughout the world and represents the most powerful barrier against the aggressive designs of imperialism and world reaction.

The party works consistently and resolutely to guarantee peace in Europe and in the world, detente and arms limitations. In its striving for permanent peace and to ward off the threat of war, the PZPR is guided by the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence with states having different social systems.

The PZPR expands collaboration and sympathizes with the anti-imperialist movements; it supports the struggle of nations for peace, national liberation, democracy and socialism.

II. Party Membership Rules

1. Only he can be a party member who acknowledges and complies with the ideological principles and the statute, is active in the party organizations, subordinates himself to party resolutions and pays his membership dues.
2. A party member should be conscious of his obligations to the party and execute them conscientiously.

Every party member is equally obligated to comply with the statutory norms regardless of his party function and occupied position.

The primary obligation of a party member is to implement the ideals and principles of socialism, to actively participate in the political life of the country, to work earnestly for the fatherland, to be faithful to patriotism and internationalism and to combat all that weakens socialist Poland and threatens its interests.

A party member is obligated to adhere to the socialist principles of observance of the law, morality, integrity, modesty and civic dependability.

3. Every party member is obligated:

- a) to participate actively in political life and in the activities and meetings of his party organization; to be helpful in his community, workplace and residence; to implement party policy and carry out the resolutions of the party leadership;
- b) to protect the party's ideological principles as well as its political and organizational unity as indispensable conditions for its strength and efficient operation;
- c) to abide by party discipline, to strengthen state and social discipline;
- d) to assimilate and popularize Marxism-Leninism and the party's program and policy;
- e) to enlist people in support of party policy, into the party's ranks who evoke public respect because of their work and comportment and who represent high ideological-political and moral values; to guard party ranks against infiltration by people who differ ideologically, who have no integrity and who are careerists;
- f) to earn the respect and support of working people by one's actions and comportment, by transmitting to them the suggestions and postulates of party organizations and echelons and by explaining PZPR policy to nonparty people;
- g) to see to it that the social organizations to which he belongs take the proper direction in their activities;
- h) to combat all causes and symptoms of evil and injustice in social life, to combat abuse, to react against conduct causing harm to party interests, the state and working people, and to voice one's opinions in these matters at party discussions;
- i) to execute honestly professional duties, to work on improving one's knowledge and qualifications, to exhort others to improve their work output, quality and discipline through one's example, to combat waste and mismanagement, to respect workplaces and social property;
- j) to execute one's obligations conscientiously regarding the family, to bring up one's children in the spirit of patriotism in accordance with the principles of socialist morality.

4. Rules for acceptance into the party:

a) Individuals are accepted by the party whose viewpoints are in accord with the ideals of socialism and the party program, who resolve to participate actively in forming and realizing party policy, who know the principles of the statute, who stand out as a result of their moral stature and sensitivity to human problems and social actions, and who enjoy the trust of their communities.

Individuals 18 years and older can be accepted into the party.

b) Each person who wishes to join the party's ranks files a written declaration concerning admission into the fellowship of party candidates and must have recommendations from two party members.

KG [gmina committee], KMG [city-gmina committee], KM [city committee] and KD [city district committee] executive boards can individually accord a ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and ZMW [Rural Youth Union] circle, a SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] faculty council and a ZHP [Polish Scout Union] instructor's circle the right to recommend their members to the party. The recommendations of such an organization having such a right that has been accepted at its meeting is treated as being equal to the recommendation of a party member.

The executive board of the party organization is obligated to seek opinions contesting the admission into the party of a candidate at his workplace and in his social organizations.

c) A party member making a recommendation for acceptance into the party should have at least 3 years of party service and be certain that he is recommending to the party a worthy comrade.

A party member who recommends a candidate is obligated to take an interest in the candidate's sociopolitical activity during his training period and to help him to execute his party tasks.

The recommender bears responsibility to the party for issuing a recommendation that is unwise or harmful to the party.

d) The period of candidacy is 2 years and cannot be extended. During this time the party organization entrusts specific party tasks to the candidate, trains him to fulfill the obligations of a party member, forms and ascertains his political and moral countenance.

e) Acceptance into the fellowship of candidates is discussed and decided at a party organization meeting in the presence of the interested party and at least one of the recommenders.

The candidate takes part in the work of his party organization, participates in its meetings in an advisory way and pays party dues. A candidate can neither elect nor be elected to the party leadership.

f) If during the period of candidacy it turns out that the candidate does not deserve to be accepted into the fellowship of party candidates, the party organization passes a resolution to delete him from the list of candidates.

g) Acceptance of a candidate into the fellowship of party members is discussed and decided at a party organization meeting in his presence and with the participation of at least one of the recommending parties after the candidate's professional and social work is evaluated, after the candidate has completed his training period and after the tasks and obligations entrusted by the party have been executed.

h) Acceptance of an individual into the fellowship of party members starts from the day the resolution is decided by the POP [basic party organization] meeting on accepting him as a candidate.

i) Resolutions concerning acceptance into the fellowship of candidates and PZPR members as well as their removal and expulsion can be considered by the members of the party organization in a secret vote.

Resolutions concerning acceptance into and removal from party ranks can be annulled by the executive board of the superior party committee; however, the interested party organization must be informed of the motive for such a decision.

j) If in a certain location only a group of candidates exists, then a resolution concerning the acceptance of a candidate into the fellowship of party members or his removal is considered by the executive board of the superior party committee.

5. Candidates and member membership cards are issued by KG, KMG, KM and KD executive boards and authorized plant committees.

6. In case a party candidate moves, his former party organization is obligated to write an opinion about him.

A party member entering retirement or being pensioned has the right to remain in his organization if the organization approves.

7. A PZPR member or candidate who wants to leave party ranks applies to his party organization for removal from the list. The matter is reviewed at a party meeting and if legal and disciplinary proceedings are not pending against him, then the party meeting considers an appropriate resolution.

8. The POP should pass a resolution to remove a member (candidate) from the party who has an indifferent attitude toward the party; who for no justified reason does not participate in its activities for a 3-month period; and who does not pay his membership dues. Removal cannot be a formal act; it should be preceded by a discussion with the interested party and a discussion at a party meeting.

9. Party members who operate in contravention of the party's ideological principles and statutory norms, violate intraparty democracy, stifle discussions and criticism, fail to respond to just criticism, undermine the organizational unity of the party, break party discipline, stain the good name of a party member by their behavior or use their party membership, function or position for personal gain are accountable to the party.

Regarding these party members, POP's or party control commissions can apply on their own initiative or at the request of the committee executive board the following penalties after the submitted charges are thoroughly examined and verified: a warning; a reprimand; a reprimand with a warning; loss of rights to perform party functions for a specified period; and expulsion from the party. If expulsion from the party is imposed, then a recommendation for a state economic or social position is withdrawn simultaneously.

10. Expulsion from the party takes place by virtue of a resolution adopted at a meeting of the party organization to which the said party member belongs or a resolution adopted by the party control commission. The party meeting resolution can be overruled by the party control commission.

11. Regarding members of the party leadership at all levels, the parent basic organizations of which they are members as well as the party authorities can pass a resolution concerning the party penalty. In this matter, party organization resolutions are legal after they are approved by the party committee at the proper level. The echelons are obligated to review POP resolutions and present their decisions along with their justifications to the party organization within 3 months.

12. In justified cases, the party organization, committee or control commission makes a decision to suspend the rights and duties of a party member until a judgment in his matter is issued or for a period not exceeding 6 months.

13. Each party committee can make a decision concerning a committee member with regard to the period of his suspension from performing party functions in association with a pending party investigation of him up to the time the charges are clarified and decision is made in his affair, informing said comrade's parent organization of the decision.

14. A party member has the right to appeal to higher-level control commissions a resolution regarding a party penalty; the decision in the appeal should be made within 1 month.

A party member may appeal a Central Committee or a CKKP [Central Party Control Commission] decision regarding the imposition of a party penalty to a party congress.

15. A party penalty can be revoked at the request of the party organization, committee or control commission which imposed the penalty after at least 1 year has elapsed. At the personal request of the penalized party, the party penalty may be reconsidered after at least 2 years have elapsed. The party organization or party control commission which made the penalty decision

revokes the penalty. In the case of expulsion from the party, party control commissions at the voivodship and central levels can consent to reentry into the party on the basis of the generally obligatory rules, but reentry cannot occur in less than 5 years after the expulsion.

In case of a statement that the imposed penalty was unjustified, the organization or echelon that imposed the penalty revokes its previous decision. If it was expulsion from the party, the expulsion time must be credited to the comrade's length of party service.

III. Democratic Centralism

16. The PZPR, its members, party organizations and committees as well as its executive organs are directed in activities by Lenin's norms for party life. Democratic centralism is the primary principle of the party's internal life. In the practical functioning of the party, the inseparable observance of centralism and democracy is a necessary condition for the party's political and ideological homogeneity and unity of operation.

In accordance with the principles of democratic centralism:

a) all party officials are selected in a democratic manner in accordance with the principles of the statute;

b) the minority acquiesces to the resolutions of the majority and implements them in a disciplined manner. Each party member has the right to present his own views at party discussions. The appeals of party organizations and committees as well as of PZPR members in defense of their own positions which differ from the will of the majority and from the resolutions of superior authorities that were passed in accordance with the statute does not exempt them from the obligation of implementing these resolutions.

Party discipline applies equally to all party members and to all party organizations and committees;

c) meetings of party organizations as well as KG, KMG, KM, KD and plant committee meetings are legal when over 50 percent of their members participate; Central Committee and voivodship committee meetings and conferences at all levels and a congress are legal when two-thirds of the members or delegates are present;

d) all authorities act collectively. As an inviolable principle for making decisions by party authorities at all levels, collectiveness does not relieve a party member of personal responsibility for implementing these decisions regardless of the function filled and position occupied;

e) all committee executive organs are responsible to the party organizations and committees that selected them, are subject to their evaluation and are obligated to submit reports to them of their activities in accordance with the accepted operating regulations in order to permit discussions of these reports;

f) party authorities at all levels are obligated to inform their parent basic party organization of their activities;

g) the resolutions of party committees and higher-level executive organs that are passed in accordance with the party's statute must be implemented by lower-level committees and party organizations.

Resolutions that are inconsistent with the party's ideological principles, program or statute or with the resolutions of higher-level committees are subject to repeal by the superior committee with the participation of the interested representatives;

h) party organizations and committees, guided by the party's statute and program as well as the resolutions of the higher committees, independently pass resolutions concerning their communities and area of operation and in matters concerning party activity.

Every party organization and committee can submit resolutions, recommendations and appeals to higher-level reports-elections conferences or to a party congress, and to superior committees during the term of office;

i) party committees are superior to the executive organs selected by them and to the political workers who program, organize, control and evaluate operations;

j) all committees and their executive organs are obligated to maintain links with the party organization and to consult them regarding draft resolutions that are especially significant; to review POP resolutions as well as the recommendations and postulates of party members, nonparty people and members of other political parties, informing the interested parties of methods of handling the said recommendations and postulates.

Committees, their executive organs and party organizations are obligated to adjudge the recommendations and postulates directed to them in the shortest time possible, but not exceeding 2 months; in addition, they must justify their decisions.

17. Party committees and organizations are obligated to comply with the principles of openness of party life, to inform party members about the resolutions and decisions of all party authorities, about their work, about the socioeconomic situation in their areas, about the public's mood and about the problems of working people.

18. All party committees and organizations are obligated to organize systematically the control for implementing their own resolutions and the resolutions of higher-level committees, and to utilize the work results of party control commissions and audit commissions.

The higher-level committees periodically verify the activities of committees and POP's that are subordinate to them; they evaluate their work and pass resolutions to improve their operations.

Voivodship committees can pass resolutions concerning the dissolution of a party organization whose activities are inconsistent with the party's statute, program, party, policy and ideological principles. The party organization can appeal such a decision to the Central Committee or the congress.

A resolution dissolving a party organization is equivalent to suspending all its members' rights and obligations. The WKKP [voivodship party control commission] determines the continuation of membership of the members of the dissolved party organization.

19. Democracy in the ranks of the PZPR is realized in the right of each party member to unrestricted discussion and criticism at party forums, to evaluate his own work and positions and those of the other members of the party organization and the activities of party officials at all levels.

Intraparty democracy and freedom of discussion and to criticize cannot be restricted or limited or be used for purposes that are inconsistent with party ideology and policy as well as with its political and organizational unity. In particular, activities of a factional nature, which are based on the creation of formalized groups within the party, which disseminate a different program, political line and organizational rules and create an autonomous discretionary center regarding statutory party officials, are not permissible.

20. Deviation from the principles of democratic centralism must be exposed and repressed, and persons guilty of violating these principles are accountable to the party.

IV. Election Rules

21. All party officials, their executive organs, party audit commissions and control commissions as well as delegates to conferences and congresses are elected by secret vote; the number of candidates at meetings, conferences and congresses is unlimited.

The number of candidates must exceed the number of people elected. The congress, conference or meeting decides the procedure for selecting candidates.

In a POP, all of its members have active and passive voting rights, and delegates have voting rights at conferences and congresses. Members replacing executive board officials, and party members recommended by a superior committee in numbers determined by the conference or recommended by the Central Committee for a congress also have passive voting rights.

A congress or conference elects the first secretary for all party committees and organizations from among the members of the previously elected committee, and in a POP meeting the selection is made from among the members of the executive board.

During a term of office, the selection of a new committee first secretary at all levels is done by the proper committee, and in a POP it is done at a meeting.

22. Voting takes place for specific candidates. Those persons are selected as officials and delegates who obtained in turn the greatest number and more than 50 percent of the valid votes, and the number of elected officials must be equal to the number decided by the meeting or conference, and the number of delegates must be consistent with the representative norms.

23. At the midpoint of the official term of office, a conference of delegates is convened that has the right to pass resolutions on all matters. The conference of delegates is convened as follows: the Central Committee--a national conference of delegates; the KW [voivodship committee]--a voivodship conference; the KG, KMG, KM and KD--a gmina, city-gmina, city and city district conference, respectively; and a KZ [plant committee]--a plant conference.

A delegate's mandate for a congress and conference is valid for the entire term of office of the said officials unless it is withdrawn earlier by the electors.

In extraordinary situations, a party committee of the proper level, on its own initiative or on demand of over 50 percent of the delegates or one-third of all party members signified in the POP resolutions and submitted to the superior committee, can call for a conference at a different time.

24. In executive organs the same elective function can be filled for no more than two consecutive terms of office. In especially justified cases, party conferences have the right to make a decision concerning the possibility of running for an additional term of office. A decision in this matter is made by secret vote; a two-thirds majority is required. One can run for the same function after one term has elapsed.

This limitation does not apply to officials selected at POP election meetings.

25. A party member cannot assume more than two elective functions at the same time in executive organs.

26. The election regulations are in the form of an enclosure to the statute.*

V. The PZPR in the System of Socialist Democracy

27. The PZPR is the leading political force of Polish society in the building of socialism. The leading role of the PZPR in the state and in society is

* The Resolution of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR Concerning PZPR Election Regulations.

The congress obligated the newly elected Central Committee to develop election regulations for the election of PZPR officials and delegates to be based on the election rules contained in the statute. These election regulations will be considered to be a component part of the statute. The draft election regulations must be discussed and reviewed by the party organizations and echelons. The Central Committee will present the final text of the election regulations at the next national conference of delegates.

designated in the PRL Constitution. In fulfilling this role, the party operates within the framework of laws that are obligatory in the PRL.

28. The party and its elements and members represent the force for developing socialist democracy; they strengthen its institutions and consolidate the values and norms that are prerequisite to the active and creative participation of all of society in the political life of the country and intensify the sense of coresponsibility of all citizens for the fate of the socialist fatherland. The party considers the winning over of extensive circles of society to realize the program for building socialism to be its duty and a necessary condition for political leadership. In developing socialist democracy, the party is guided by the principle of unity of civil rights and obligations.

29. The party implements the basic structural values of popular democracy, observance of the law, civil rights and liberties and social equality and justice.

Party committees and organizations care about the proper functioning of the organs of government and state administration; about expanding the activities of social organizations; and about the various forms of worker self-government, respecting their organizational independence and not replacing them in fulfilling their statutory functions and tasks.

The realization of these goals is aided by:

- a) the activities of PZPR members who are deputies in the Sejm, the highest organ of state government. The task of the PZPR Sejm deputies is to implement fully the constitutional role of the Sejm and to represent and support the PZPR program and policies in matters that are of key significance to the state and nation;
- b) the activities of PZPR members who are councilors in the regional representative organs at all levels. Party council members work to realize the party's policies via the representative organ, maintaining close contact with the public and expressing its interests;
- c) the activities of PZPR members in mass social organizations and in worker self-government bodies. Party members represent the PZPR political line in these organizations, actively implementing the program goals and statutory principles of these organizations. Party members also are obligated to represent the party's political line in controversial matters and in conflicting situations.

30. The election regulations approved by the Central Committee presents the detailed procedure for selecting candidates for the Sejm and councils in the name of the PZPR.

Sejm deputies who are party members form a PZPR deputies' club.

The deputies' club guarantees the cooperation of club members in the work of the Sejm and its organs so that it is in accord with the party policy and the

interests of socialist Poland, allowing deputies a wide field for self-initiative.

The deputies' club operates under the direction of the Central Committee.

31. Party members belonging to people's councils, trade union and cooperative leadership, rural circles and other social organizations can form party groups. Party members attending congresses of social organizations can also form party groups during the congresses.

The task of the groups is to assume concordance of actions with the party's program and policies, to shape the democratic character of the work of the given representative or social organization, to stimulate their initiative and self-government, to expand activity in the struggle against bureaucratism, insensibility and complacency.

The groups operate under the direction of the party committee of the proper level.

32. Committees directing the activities of the deputies' club, council groups and other party groups periodically evaluate their work.

33. In its existing cadre policy, the party is guided by the principle of not combining executive functions in executive organs with managerial positions in the state and economic administrations that are at the same level. Congresses and conferences can establish deviations from this principle. Party committees recommending their members for managerial functions are obligated to obtain an opinion about them from the parent POP.

34. The PZPR aims to strengthen continuously the FJN [National Unity Front] whose platform includes collaboration of the party with the ZSL [United Peasant Party] and the SD [Democratic Party] and the cooperation of all worker social organizations. The primary obligation of party members operating within FJN organs is to implement the party's program and policies within society as a whole and to activate working people to implement them in all areas of life.

35. The party attaches special importance to the development of the trade union movement in Poland, an important element of the system of socialist democracy, an instrument for and a defender of the material and social interests of working people. This is defined by the importance of the tasks and obligations of party members operating in the trade union movement, by the need for their singular political activity and initiatives in shaping the direction of activities of trade union organizations in accordance with the interests of the working masses and party policy.

The task of party members is to disseminate party policy among trade unionists, to work for their political unity in the name of the common interests of the working class and all working people.

36. The party cares about the socialist upbringing of young people, about close intergenerational ties and about the socialist direction of the

development of youth unions. PZPR members are responsible to the party for the patriotic, internationalistic upbringing of young Poles in the family, in the schools, at workplaces, in social organizations and in places of residence as good citizens having a sense of responsibility for the socialist fatherland and serving it faithfully through hard study and work, and as people guided by socialist moral principles.

37. Party press organs disseminate party policy, goals and program tasks and Marxist-Leninist ideology; they participate in forming the public's socialist consciousness; they struggle for the efficient realization of the socialist principles of social justice and the building of socialism.

The party press must be an important instrument for party information and a forum for discussing party matters. At the same time it must be an exponent of public opinion, a factor in shaping this opinion to be aware of the superiority of the basic principles of government of socialist Poland. It also must be a place for the national discussion of the complex problems involved in realizing party policy and building socialism.

The party press is obligated to improve continuously the links between the party and its elements with society, as well as its supervisory and interventionist functions.

The Central Committee directs the party press, and voivodship committees direct the press in areas designated by the Central Committee in accordance with the general line and the resolutions of the Central Committee plenary sessions.

Party journalists--like all party members--are obligated to defend the party's general line in all circumstances and before everyone regardless of function and position.

The Central Committee and the voivodship committees appoint the chief editors and the editorial councils of party press organs as organs for consulting and forming opinions.

VI. The PZPR Organizational Structure

38. The party bases its activities on party organizations that are created in accordance with the production-territorial principle and the subordination of a lower-level organization to a higher-level organization, namely:

--basic organizations (plant, rural, territorial) are subject to city district, city, city-gmina and gmina committees;

--gmina, city-gmina, city, city district or their equivalent organizations are subject to the voivodship committee;

--voivodship organizations are directly subordinate to the Central Committee.

The proper-level conference is the superior authority for voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city and city district organizations.

39. Party activity in the Armed Forces of the PRL is directed by the Central Committee via the GZP WP [Main Political Directorate, Polish Army]. The tasks and structure of party organizations in the armed forces are designated by the Central Committee and resolutions of PZPR congresses.

Military personnel who are party members belong to the party organization in their units.

40. Within the framework of the party's overall organization and structure, party echelons have the right to adapt the organizational system to current requirements and the party's operating conditions to assume the proper organization and coordination of party work.

With the approval of superiors, party committees can appoint, combine and break up party organizations within the territory of their operations as well as lower-level committees after prior consultations with the interested parties.

41. To develop effective means of implementing party policies and increase party influence in some social and professional communities, especially those having widely dispersed employees and few POP's, the voivodship committee can appoint party community committees. A community committee is selected at a joint meeting of party organizations or a community conference.

A community committee is subject to the proper party committee in accordance with a KW resolution which also designates the scope of its powers.

42. City district, city, city-gmina and gmina committees can form territorial work groups from among party members living in the given territory. Territorial work groups in rural areas can be formed from among party workers working in cities but living in rural areas. In justified situations, these members can also belong to rural POP's with the approval of the proper party committee.

The activities of territorial work groups should aid the FJN, self-government elements and social organization activities. Activity in territorial work groups should not conflict with the rights and obligations resulting from memberships in parent primary organizations.

43. With the knowledge of the proper party committees, party organizations can cooperate to exchange experience, and to develop recommendations, opinions and concepts that enrich party activity. Party committees should encourage such cooperation. Groups formed within the framework of such cooperation do not have the party authority rights of their member POP's; instead they are of an auxiliary nature and inspire specific activity.

44. Party congresses, conferences, committees and meetings have the right to pass resolutions. The Politburo, executive boards and secretaries are the executive powers in the party. The audit commission and control commission are the control organs in the party.

Between committee meetings, the Politburo and executive boards have the right to pass resolutions that are binding for the entire party and proper party organizations.

If the resolutions are within the jurisdiction reserved for committees, then they are subject to approval at the next meeting of the said committee.

45. The statutory activity of committees and party organizations as well as their efficient functioning require the employment of fulltime political employees. They are appointed by the committees, executive boards and the Central Committee Politburo and are employed in positions financed by the party budget. Political employees perform a service role vis-a-vis party committees.

Secretaries and members of the party authorities employed in positions financed by the party budget, elected at conferences and congresses, are also political employees.

The tasks of political employees are derived from the resolutions of party committees and are defined by the Central Committee Politburo and executive boards. Political employees also fulfill an auxiliary function vis-a-vis the problem commissions of the PZPR deputies' club and council groups. Their secretaries are responsible to the committees for their activities and accomplishments.

Party committees at all levels periodically evaluate the activities of political employees.

Political employees can act in the name of committees and their executive boards after the proper authority is obtained.

Candidates for party committee work should be the most active party activists having much experience in party, social and union work, and be the most ideological with the highest moral standing. At least 5 years' membership and professional experience and the election to a party function for at least one term are prerequisites for selection for this work.

A candidate for this work must obtain a positive opinion from the parent party organization and workplace. He may remain a member of his organization after entering into committee work. The Central Committee establishes the guidelines concerning the organizational structure and scope of activities of political employees.

VII. The Highest Party Authorities

46. The congress is the highest party authority. A party congress is convened every 5 years by the Central Committee.

The Central Committee can convene an extraordinary congress on its own initiative or at the request of at least one-third of all party members stated in the resolutions of the basic party organizations and presented to the

superior committee or at the request of over 50 percent of the delegates selected at the previous congress.

The announcement to convene a congress, the problems to be discussed and the members of the congress commission is made to the entire party by the Central Committee no later than 6 months before the congress opens.

The Central Committee establishes the rules and procedures for selecting members of the congress commission.

The date of the congress is announced by the Central Committee no later than 3 months before the congress opens, and at the same time the Central Committee presents the congress themes for partywide and national discussion.

Delegates of party organizations who are selected at precongress voivodship, plant and school conferences as well as at PRL Armed Forces conferences participate in the congress and have voting rights. The representative norms for delegates are established by the Central Committee. A party member who has at least 5 years of party service can be a delegate.

Outgoing members of the central leadership, party members invited by the Central Committee and other individuals who are invited as observers can participate in the congress in an advisory capacity.

The congress is legal if the delegates present represent no less than two-thirds of all party members.

47. The congress:

- a) designates the party's political line and decides the party's program;
- b) reviews the report on the activities of the Central Committee, the Central Audit Commission and the Central Party Control Commission selected at the last congress and expresses its position in an appropriate resolution;
- c) selects by secret vote the Central Committee, the first secretary of the Central Committee, the Central Audit Commission and the Central Party Control Commission; establishes each time the number of members and candidate members in the Central Committee, Politburo and secretariats as well as members of the Central Audit Commission and their presidiums. The method for selecting the first secretary of the Central Committee is designated in the election rules;
- d) decrees changes in the party's statute; a resolution in this matter can be passed by at least a two-thirds majority;
- e) can pass resolutions on any other matter.

48. During the intercongress period, the highest party authority is the Central Committee, which guarantees the implementation of the program passed by the congress, directs all areas of party work, acts in the name of the party outside the party, supervises the work of the Politburo, the Secretariat and

the Central Committee Problem Commission. The Central Committee consults party organizations and echelons on drafts of very important resolutions or presents them for public discussion.

49. The Central Committee operates in accordance with the regulations adopted by it and the periodic plan of operation in which the current day-to-day problems of the country's political and socioeconomic life are considered.

Plenary sessions of the Central Committee occur as needed, but at least once every 3 months; they are called at the initiative of the Politburo or at the recommendation of at least one-third of the members of the Central Committee. Candidate members of the Central Committee as well as members of the Central Audit Commission and Central Party Control Commission presidiums attend plenary meetings in an advisory capacity.

The Central Committee systematically informs party organizations and committees about its work.

50. The Central Committee selects the Central Committee Politburo and secretaries from among its members in a secret vote. The selected secretaries comprise the Secretariat. The Politburo directs party work in the period between Central Committee plenary sessions, makes decisions assuring the implementation of Central Committee resolutions, designates the jurisdictions, powers and scope of work of the Central Committee secretaries and verifies their day-to-day work.

The first secretary of the Central Committee organizes the work of the Central Committee Politburo and secretaries during the period between Central Committee sessions, chairs Central Committee sessions, represents the Central Committee and acts in the name of the party outside the party.

The Central Committee secretaries direct current work in the area of organization, executing and verifying the implementation of resolutions of the congress and of the Central Committee as well as evaluating, verifying and monitoring the output of work of the fulltime political employees.

The Politburo is obligated to consult Central Committee members, the Central Committee commissions and party organizations about draft resolutions that are of basic significance to the party. The Politburo is obligated to file systematic reports on its work at Central Committee meetings.

Members of the Central Committee Politburo and the Central Committee secretaries are obligated to announce their positions regarding the most important problems of the country's political and socioeconomic life. At the same time they have the right and obligation to refer to the opinion of the Central Committee when necessary.

51. The Central Committee should dismiss from its ranks individual members and candidate members if they do not discharge the obligations stated in the party's statute or the tasks entrusted to them by the Central Committee.

The Central Committee can fill vacancies with new members from among the Central Committee candidate members in numbers not exceeding one-fifth of the number selected before the congress. The number of Central Committee members cannot exceed the number established before the congress.

52. The Central Committee appoints problem commissions from among members and candidate members. Party members who are not Central Committee members, especially congress delegates, can be appointed to participate in the commissions.

The Central Committee approves the party's organizational structure and the jurisdictions of the political employees; it creates Central Committee departments and approves and dismisses their directors; it creates party institutions and monitors their activities, establishes the directions of cadre policy and gives orders via the party cadres; verifies the activities of party members occupying managerial positions of national significance; directs the party work of the press organs; and administers the party's funds and assets.

53. The Central Committee approves the regulations and guidelines for the Politburo's work; it also designates the scope of the Politburo's jurisdictions. The Central Committee evaluates at its meetings the work of the Politburo and its members as well as the work of the Central Committee secretaries.

The Central Committee can overrule a Politburo decision.

VIII. Voivodship, Gmina, City-Gmina, City and City District Party Authorities

54. Conferences are the authority for voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and plant organizations. Conferences select proper-level committees, audit commissions and party control commissions. The method of selecting the first secretary is designated in the election rules. The term of office for party officials in these organizations is 2.5 years.

The conferences establish the number of these officials within the framework of the designated regulations for elections within the party. Voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city and city district conferences are convened by the proper-level committees in accordance with the election rules of the statute and the PZPR election regulations, or earlier at the recommendations of the superior committee or also at the request of over 50 percent of the delegates selected at the last conference or at the request of one-third of all party members expressed in POP resolutions and presented to the superior committee. The proper-level committee is obligated to convene a conference within 3 months of the date of announcing the request.

Conferences of delegates are convened at the midpoint of the term of office of voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and plant officials. These conferences evaluate the extent to which the resolutions of the reports-elections conferences have been realized and review the reports of the activities of their committees in this area.

55. Party conferences review and approve the reports of outgoing officials, discuss the implementation of the party's program tasks as well as their

organization, evaluate the implementation of recommendations and resolutions forwarded since the last conference by party members, lower-level party organizations and committees. They establish the organization's program of operations and designate the tasks to realize them. They pass resolutions concerning other matters insofar as they are not reserved in the statute for superior party authorities.

56. Delegates to a voivodship conference are selected by the gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and plant conferences in accordance with the representative norms established by the voivodship committee.

Delegates to gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and plant conferences are selected by the basic party organizations in accordance with the representative norms established by the proper committees.

57. A voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and plant committee selects its executive board and its secretaries by secret vote.

The executive board directs party work in the period between meetings, makes decisions assuring the implementation of committee resolutions, defines the jurisdictions and scope of obligations of the secretaries and verifies their day-to-day work.

The first secretary organizes the work of the executive board and the secretaries in the period between committee meetings, chairs the meetings, represents the committee and acts in its name outside the party.

Secretaries direct party work in areas entrusted to them, organize and verify the implementation of Central Committee, voivodship conference and committee resolutions.

Executive board members and secretaries are obligated to present their positions on the most important problems of the country's socioeconomic and political life and when necessary have the right to appeal to the opinion of a plenary session.

The committee and its executive board and secretaries work closely with party organizations, discuss their draft resolutions with them, regularly inform party members and party organizations of their work and goals.

58. Voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city and city district committees have the right to dismiss individual members and candidate members and to supplement their membership. New members are selected from among the candidate members.

These changes cannot exceed one-fifth of the committee membership selected by the conference.

59. Committees appoint permanent commissions from among their group and, as needed, working groups to analyze the implementation of party resolutions, to develop recommendations and present them to the parent party committee. Party members who are committee members can be appointed to participate in the commissions and groups, especially conference and congress delegates.

Voivodship committees create departments, approve and replace directors of these departments from among candidates proposed by the KW executive board.

Voivodship committees direct the party voivodship press.

60. Party committees convene plenary sessions as needed but no less than once every 2 months. They operate on the basis of regulations accepted by them and periodic plans of operation.

KW, KG, KMG, KM and KD candidate members, members of the audit commissions and party control commissions of the proper level attend the plenary meetings of these committees in an advisory capacity.

The committees approve the regulations and the plans of operation of the executive boards and define the scope of their jurisdictions. At their meeting they evaluate the work of the executive boards, their members and secretaries. Committees can overrule executive board decisions.

Party committees at all levels direct the activities of organizations subordinate to them; ensure the realization of the party's program and political line as well as their own resolutions and those of superior committees; shape the efficient activity of party cadres; direct the ideological training of party members; inspire activity in state and economic institutions as well as in social organizations via party members operating within them; cooperate with regional organizations of allied parties and actively participate in FJN proceedings.

Committees are obligated to strengthen the cohesiveness and expand the activity of the party's ranks; they care about their proper development, membership and high quality.

61. Gmina, city-gmina, city and city district committees organize the activities of party members at their places of residence in the city and rural areas to expand political work among the residents and inspire them to be active in social and economic activities via, among others, FJN committees, elements of rural self-government and self-government of residents.

IX. Basic Party Organizations

62. The party shapes and implements its program and political line via the active participation of its members organized in basic party organizations. The basic party organization is the fundamental element of party organization. Each party member (candidate) belongs to a basic party organization and above all realizes in it his rights and obligations.

Basic party organizations are created with the approval of the gmina, city-gmina, city and city district committees at workplaces, in institutions, in rural areas and at places of residence where there are at least five party members.

63. Rural party organizations are formed by party members working and living in the given rural area or neighboring rural areas. Separate party organizations can be formed in state agricultural enterprises, production cooperatives, cooperative institutions and rural offices.

Territorial party organizations concentrate party members whose place of residence does not have a party organization or comrades professionally employed. Members and candidates employed in the territory of a given settlement (region) in posts serving the needs of its residents can also belong to territorial organizations. The proper party committees make the decision to form territorial organizations.

Candidates for party membership in enterprises and settlements where there is no party organization are members of a group of candidates operating under the direction of a party member designated by the gmina, city-gmina, city or city district committee.

64. The executive boards of gmina, city-gmina, city, city district and plant committees can propose membership for a party member and candidate to a specific party organization with its approval.

65. Party organizations are responsible to the party for implementing congress resolutions and the PZPR program, and for complying with the statutory rules; they are obligated to create a proper sociopolitical atmosphere among the workers of the institutions in which they operate.

The center of POP attention should be all the important social, political and economic problems, matters dealing with the management, efficiency and quality of work, the rational use of the national wealth, competent administrative work, implementation of the principles of cadre policies. Party organizations involved in these problems are directed by the principle of unity of local interests with superior national interests.

Party organizations fulfill these tasks directly by active participation in work involving worker, rural and resident self-government as well as involving trade unions and other social organizations.

66. In particular, the basic tasks of basic party organizations include:

- a) caring about systematically holding party meetings, about enriching their ideological-political content and about a democratic climate as the basic framework of the party's political life;
- b) organizing the activities of party members to realize its policies in its territory, conducting activities to execute production tasks and professional obligations, increasing work output and discipline, evaluating the execution of party social and professional tasks by party members;
- c) convincing workers to support and realize party policies; thoroughly investigating workers' opinions, suggestions and proposals and effectively implementing valid postulates;

- d) caring about the high quality and political-moral purity of party members, the acceptance into the party of members and candidates as well as their political education;
- e) increasing the knowledge of PZPR candidates and members, including party committee members, of Marxism-Leninism; organizing training activity and expanding ideological training in the community;
- f) struggling daily to realize the party's ideological and political goals: observing the principle of democratic centralism, the practical realization of the program to build socialism, observing the norms of the party's statute;
- g) educating party members in the spirit of bold criticism, self-criticism; combating all instances of suppressing criticism; reporting to party committees, including the Central Committee, signs of deviation from the party's line and program and breakdown of socialist democracy, observance of the law, the norms of social life and the principles of economical management;
- h) combating antisocialist, reactionary ideology and propaganda, and struggling against the viewpoints and activities of the enemies of socialism;
- i) actively working for the comprehensive development of the younger generation and creating appropriate conditions for this;
- j) taking special care of combat veterans and older workers, taking advantage of their extensive experience, creating conditions for them to participate in party life in accordance with their individual abilities;
- k) assuring the development and active operation of worker self-government, trade unions, cooperative organizations and other social organizations in the cities and in the rural areas;
- l) combating abuse and the use of an occupied party or official post to favor one's position and to gain personal advantage; combating waste of social goods, bureaucratism, drunkenness, favoritism and all manifestations and attitudes inconsistent with socialist morality; defending all those who expose irregularities in sociopolitical and economic life and express just criticisms;
- m) continually caring about improving the material, social and cultural conditions of life and of working people, and about meeting their everyday needs.

67. Basic party organizations have the right:

- a) to formulate program proposals for congresses as well as for reports-elections conferences at all levels;
- b) to submit proposals and postulates directly to any party echelon;
- c) to express opinions concerning drafts of programs that have to be approved by a congress, conference or superior committee;

- d) to request information from party echelons concerning party policies and the sociopolitical situation;
- e) to present the initial proposal of candidates and to express a position concerning POP members who are candidates for party authority positions as well as on behalf of the PZPR concerning candidates for representative organs;
- f) to give an opinion of candidates for political work in party committees who are members of the given party organization;
- g) to evaluate the attitudes of its members, including those recommended for party committee functions, organs of state government and social organizations and those occupying positions in the state and economic administrations. Recommendations resulting from these evaluations are sent to the proper party committee;
- h) to demand the dismissal from an acting function of a member of its organization who was recommended by it;
- i) to cooperate with other basic organizations, to hold joint meetings, to exchange experiences and opinions.

68. The party meeting is the primary place of discussion for a party member.

A plan of operation for a party organization and its executive board as well as its verification and execution are approved at a meeting.

The executive board of a party organization is obligated to present at each meeting information about its work and to submit a report on implemented resolutions and recommendations.

Party organizations should convene an open meeting as required with the participation of nonparty people.

POP's meet as required, but no less than once a month at which complex political, ideological, socioeconomic and current party problems in the area of their activity are discussed.

Basic party organizations program their work independently as guided by the resolutions of the congress, Central Committee, and at the same time take into consideration the needs of the community and the conditions in which they occur.

69. To implement their primary functions and obligations, party organizations consign to all members and candidates clearly defined party tasks and systematically evaluate their implementation.

The fulfilling of party-recommended functions in organs of state government, self-governing bodies and trade unions and social organizations is an especially important party task.

70. Branch party organizations can be formed in enterprises and institutions where the number of members and candidates exceeds 100.

A KW can also approve the creation of a plant committee in party organizations numbering less than 400 members and candidates.

Basic party organizations that are divided into branch party organizations can be formed within a plantwide organization--in departments, sections, individual plants--with the approval of the voivodship committee in enterprises and institutions having in excess of 400 party members and candidates. In this case the plant committee is the authority for the entire party organization.

In justified cases, the voivodship committee can grant the same rights possessed by a KG (KMG, KM, KD).

71. To improve and organize better operations, basic party organizations can be divided into party groups according to production ties. A group's work is directed by the party group selected by it.

72. Election of basic and branch party organization officials occurs every 2.5 years, and at midterm their officials convene a reports conference.

X. Audit Commissions and Party Control Commissions

73. A party congress or conference selects the appropriate central, voivodship, gmina, city-gmina, city and city district audit commission as well as the party control commission. Plant party conferences select audit commissions and can select party control commissions.

74. The Central Audit Commission and Central Party Control Commission submit reports of their work to the party congress, and lower-level commissions submit reports to party conferences and are responsible to them for the results of their activities.

75. Audit commissions and party control commissions are guided in their activities by the party statute, congress and Central Committee resolutions and the resolutions of the proper-level committee and conference.

76. Party audit commissions verify and evaluate:

- a) the method by which a problem is resolved by party organizations, party committees and the party apparatus, especially the implementation of recommendations forwarded to party organizations and echelons, including letters and complaints;
- b) the implementation of resolutions, guidelines and instructions concerning intraparty management that are issued by the Central Committee and its organs;
- c) the regularity and punctuality of payment of party dues;
- d) the observance of rules for the proper and economical management of party funds and assets;

e) the financial activity of institutions that are managed directly by the party.

Audit commissions also investigate the implementation of obligatory resolutions by party organizations and executive organs of party committees.

Audit commissions transmit material as well as recommendations to controlled units as well as to their superior units on the basis of which they issue postcontrol recommendations.

77. Party control commissions:

a) verify that party members observe the norms and principles contained in the statute and the principles of socialist morality; and they care about the purity of the party's ranks;

b) call party members, on the recommendation of party committees and organizations or party members or on their own initiative, including members of committees of the same level, into account to the party for transgressing against the party's ideological and program principles, for impairing party unity; for violating the party's statute, the resolutions of party authorities and party discipline; for suppressing criticism; for corrupt practices, slander, arrogance and bureaucratism; for using one's position or performed function for achieving material gain;

c) give verdicts imposing party penalties that are stipulated in the statute or exempt units from responsibility; review appeals concerning party penalties imposed via the resolutions of committees, party organizations and lower-level commissions;

d) operate on the basis of the statute and regulations; in the area of jurisdiction, they are independent of committees.

78. The Central Audit Commission and the Central Party Control Commission define the structures and general principles of operation for themselves and for lower-level commissions.

The operations of audit commissions and party control commissions are directed by the presidiums selected by them.

Commissions have the right to dismiss members and to supplement their personnel strength from among delegates to congresses or conferences. These changes cannot exceed one-fifth of the membership selected at the congress or conference.

79. Members of audit commissions and party control commissions cannot hold elective functions in party committees of the same level.

80. Audit commissions and party control commissions cooperate with appropriate-level party committees to realize their tasks, submitting to them evaluations and recommendations resulting from their conducted activities.

Party committees and organizations are obligated to use the verdicts of party control commissions and to form opinions regarding recommendations submitted by audit commissions and party control commissions.

XI. Party Funds and Assets

81. The party funds arise from members' dues, income from party publications as well as other incomes.

82. The Central Committee determines membership dues after obtaining the opinions of party organizations.

83. The Central Committee administers the party's funds and assets; within the scope designated by the Central Committee, the party's funds and assets are administered by lower-level party committees. A part of the funds derived from dues can be allocated for disposition by basic party organizations. Party committees and organizations must manage funds economically and properly.

84. The Central Committee submits a report to the congress on the management of party funds. The audit commissions systematically verify the party's management of possessed financial resources and assets.

All party committees submit reports to conferences on managing party funds.

The Central Committee receives information once a year on the status of the party's finances and assets (income and expenditures).

XII. Concluding Provisions

85. The "Internationale," the international hymn of the proletariat and worker and communist parties, is the hymn of the PZPR.

86. The Central Committee, and party organizations and committees have the right to possess party banners. The party banner is red. Located on one side of the banner is the motto "Proletarians of all countries, unite!"; on the other side is "Polish United Workers Party" or "PZPR" as well as the name and headquarters of the committee or organization. The Politburo of the Central Committee confers the right to possess a banner on the recommendation of the voivodship committee.

87. Interpretations of the statute's provisions are executed by the congress and the Central Committee.

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ROMANIA

ARMENIAN MANUSCRIPTS CITED AS SOURCE OF COUNTRY'S HISTORY

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 20 May 83 p 31

[Interview with Suren Kolangian by Vartan Arachelian]

[Text] Suren Kolangian is a historical sciences candidate; born in Constantinople in 1928, he is currently principal researcher in the sector devoted to the history of Armenian colonies at the Historical Institute of the Academy of the Armenian SSR. The author of many studies and articles about the history of the Armenian community in Romania--his dissertation is in fact entitled "The History of Armenians in Transylvania Between the 10th and 13th Centuries"--he is also interested in the discovery of information about our country's history contained in Armenian manuscripts in Romania and in Soviet Armenia. Vice-chairman of the Erevan branch of the Soviet-Romanian Friendship Association, Suren Kolangian is an untiring promoter of Romania's history and culture in Armenia. During his sixth visit to our country as guest of the Romanian Academy, we requested this interview at the end of the three weeks he spent with us.

[Question] There is a growing interest in Romania about Armenian culture and history. In support of this statement, I might mention the recent publication of a substantial poetry anthology, a collection of Armenian proverbs and sayings, and so on. What can you tell us about the Romanian presence in Armenia?

[Answer] We have recently seen the Armenian language publication of the excellent novel "Groapa" [The Grave] by Eugen Barbu, and the publication of a book which introduces nine Romanian writers; and for several years, the Armenian stage and the Erevan television have successfully presented contemporary Romanian plays, especially those of the late Aurel Baranga, "Fii cuminte" [Behave Yourself], "Cristofor," "Opinia publica" [Public Opinion], and "Interesul general" [The Public Interest]. I am also aware of the recent publication of a volume of stories signed by several Romanian writers. I can tell you that there exists some interest in gathering a voluminous anthology of Romanian poetry from its beginnings until today, an anthology which would join an older collection of verse signed by 31 Romanian poets. I have been

asked for a direct translation of Arghezi for a collection of this great writer's poetry. Although I am quite busy with my studies, I will not refuse this request, especially since until now the translations have been made through Russian, and the Armenian equivalents are less faithful to the Romanian original.

[Question] What are your concerns in our regard?

[Answer] The eighth volume of the Armenian Encyclopedia is now coming out; this is an extensive work which will ultimately have 12 volumes, and to which I am a fundamental collaborator. I have written more than 150 articles both about the history of Armenian colonies in Romania and about the Romanian personality. This volume, for instance, contains information about Stefan cel Mare, Nicolae Iorga, Ion Voda cel Viteaz, Garabet Ibraileanu, the Sahighian Brothers, and others. I might add that although published in an edition of 100,000 copies, this work is selling extremely fast, being in demand throughout the world where Armenians live. In the history journal of the Armenian Academy, I have published two studies about the life and work of the great friend of Armenians, Nicolae Iorga. In the same journal, I also wrote about two famous orientalists, Vlad Banateanu and Gheorghe Bezhviconi. For a collection of Balkan studies, now published in Russian, I wrote an article entitled "Suceava, Cultural Center of Armenians in the Medieval History of Moldavia." And of course, Romanian history or culture are active presences in the books on which I am now working as well as in this study.

[Question] Can you name them?

[Answer] During the six visits I have made in Romania, I discovered many archives and researched the past of several Armenian settlements in Gherla, the ancient Armenopolis, Frumoasa, Dumbraveni, Sf. Gheorghe, and Gheorghieni; the results of my research will appear in two volumes, the first of which will be entitled "Armenians in Transylvania From Ancient Times to 1850." In Bucharest, Iasi, Suceava, Bacau, Botosani, and Focsani, I conducted further research which I want to discuss in a book about Romanian-Armenian ties, which go back to ancient times. In fact, some of my conclusions will be included in "The History of Armenians," a work in seven volumes in which I collaborate.

[Question] Can you mention the major ones?

[Answer] Of course! Because of extremely harsh circumstances, the Armenian diaspora was formed in the most ancient times. In Moldavia, for instance, Alexandru cel Bun issued a charter in 1401, naming an Armenian bishop, which indicates that Armenians arrived in Moldavia much earlier; I have discovered that there were Armenians in Walachia, at Slatina, since 1370, and that during the same period they settled in Arges with their priests. In many of the land documents that I studied, I found signatures of Armenian aldermen. What does all this indicate if not the extremely tolerant nature of the Romanians, the goodwill they manifested toward Armenian refugees, which in turn fought in

their own companies under the flags of Romanian princes, as they did for Stefan cel Mare. The tolerant spirit, the welcoming nature of the Romanians is due to the fact that the Armenians had their own cultural life, which was able to erect monuments such as the thirteen that are standing to this day in Suceava.

[Question] What documents referring directly to Romanian history did you discover?

[Answer] A few years ago, I published in Romania, in MAGAZIN ISTORIC, a study of new Armenian documents that I discovered in the manuscript library Matenadaran in Erevan, regarding the revolution of Tudor Vladimirescu. In my recent research, I have found interesting data in Armenian documents written in 1785 at Deva, about the revolt of Horia, Closca, and Crisan. I dare say that many interesting new facts about Romanian history remain to be discovered in Armenian manuscripts, such as the news about Walachians announced by the celebrated mathematician, astronomer, and geographer Anania Siracati in the seventh century. In fact, I had some interesting discussions about this with my colleagues in Bucharest and Iasi, and a collaboration of efforts in research will serve our historical studies. I take advantage of this opportunity to thank my hosts for all they have done to make my stay in Romania a fruitful one.

11,023
CSO: 2700/261

AWARDS FOR IMPLEMENTING, EXCEEDING 1982 PLAN

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 13 May 83 p 5

[Text] For contribution to the implementation of the party and state policy of building a multilaterally developed socialist society in our country, and for outstanding results obtained in the socialist competition to fulfill and exceed the Unified National Plan for Socioeconomic Development in 1982, the title of:

Hero of Socialist Labor was awarded to: Constantin Popa, miner, brigade leader at the Lupeni Mining Enterprise, Hunedoara County; Anton Dobrin, lead foreman at the Grivita Rosie Chemical Equipment Enterprise, Bucharest; Petru Placinta, director of the Bacau State Avicultural Enterprise; Ilie Lutu, assistant farm leader at the Scornicesti Agricultural Production Cooperative; Aurel Sandu, director of the Titan Institute for Scientific Research and Technical Engineering for Machine-Tools and Installations, Bucharest;

Order of Labor Class I was awarded to: Nicolae Albu, specialist lead foreman at the Savinesti Combine for Synthetic Fibers, Neamt County; Petru Abrudan, forge foreman at the Suceava Enterprise for Geologic Prospecting and Explorations, Cimpulung Moldovenesc, Suceava County; Nicolae Avram, director of the Enterprise for Meat Preparation and Canning, Bucharest; Elena Barbulescu, deputy inspector general at the School Inspectorate, Olt County; Teodor Bucur, foreman at the 23 August Enterprise, Bucharest; Nicu Ceausescu, secretary of the Central Committee of the UTC (Union of Communist Youth); Arghil Vasile Ciobotaru, director of the Curtea de Arges Enterprise for Household Porcelain, Arges County; Serban Cioculescu, member of the academy; Andrei Csillag, secretary of the Cluj County Committee of the RCP; Nicolae Dicu, director of the Cavnic Mining Exploitation, Maramures County; Gheorghe Dragomir, director of the Fieni Combine for Binders and Asbestos-Cement, Dimbovita County; Iancu Dragan, director of the Central Institute for Metallurgic Research, Bucharest; Alexandru Filiooreanu, director general of the Iasi CFR (Romanian Railways) Regional Unit; Ion Jalea, honorary chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists; Ioan Jianu, director of the Caras-Severin County Enterprise for Communal and Housing Management; Diamanta Laudoniu,

director of the Enterprise for Semiconductor Materials Research and Production; Boleslav Muller, director of the Copsa Mica Metallurgical Enterprise for Non-Ferrous Metals, Sibiu County; Stelian Necula, director of the Grivita Rosie Chemical Equipment Enterprise, Bucharest; Margarit Oprea, locksmith at the hot strap mill of the Galati Steel Combine; Ilie Alexandru Orzata, director of the Slatina Aluminum Enterprise, Olt County; Stefan Plesa, director of the Teleorman County Enterprise for Milling, Breads, and Flour Products; Ilie Relea, site leader at the No 5 Group sites of the Bacau Construction Trust; Leonard Rusu, director of the Pascani Enterprise for Knits and Curtains, Iasi County; Radu Suman, director of the Bucharest Trust for Industrial and Agrozootechnical Constructions; Marin Stefanache, director general of the Motru Mining Combine, Gorj County; Florin Teodor Tanasescu, director general of the Bucharest Central Institute for Machine-Tools, Electrical Machinery, and Electronics;

Order of Agricultural Merit Class I, was awarded to: Gheorghe Antochi, director general of the Bacau General Directorate for Agriculture and the Food industry; Gheorghe Calin, vice-chairman of the Gheorghe Doja Agricultural Production Cooperative, Ialomita County; Florentin-Doru Carpanu, director of the Timis Combine for Pork Production and Industrialization; Dinu Daniliuc, chairman of the Munca Agricultural Production Cooperative, Gurbanesti, Calarasi County; Tudor Danacu, chairman of the Cezieni Agricultural Production Cooperative, Olt County; Costica Misca, chairman of the Bucov Agricultural Production Cooperative, Prahova County; Milea Paun, chief engineer at the Chiscani Agricultural Production Cooperative, Braila County; Stefan Raduica, director of the Maracineni Agroindustrial Unit, Buzau County;

Order of Scientific Merit Class I was awarded to: Mircea Dan Buzescu, director of the Bucharest Institute for Technical Engineering and Design for Machine Building Enterprises; Maria Ionescu, director general of the Bucharest Central Institute for Chemistry; Marin Ivascu, director general of the Bucharest Central Institute of Physics; Octav Onicescu, member of the academy; Sever Serban, deputy director general of the Bucharest Central Institute of Chemistry;

Order of Cultural Merit Class I was awarded to: Ioan Fintesteanu, actor, Bucharest; Ionel Silviu Vlad, rector of the Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County;

Order of Health Merit Class I was awarded to: Dorin Hociota, director of the ORL Medical Center for Sound and Hearing, and for Functional Surgery; Agripa Ionescu, clinic leader at the Bucharest Hospital for Plastic Surgery; Ioan Popa, director of the Bihor County Health Directorate; Vasile Sabadeanu, professor at the Targu Mures Institute for Medicine and Pharmacy, Targu Mures County; Alexandru Trestioreanu, director of the Bucharest Oncologic Institute;

Order of Labor Class II was awarded to: Niculae Barbulescu, deputy of the minister of the chemical industry; Mitu Alexandru Badescu, director general at the Ministry of the Machine-Tool, Electrical Machinery, and Electronics Industry; Nicolae Bejean, director of the Comanesti Mining Enterprise, Bacau

County; Paul Blaer, director of the 23 August Enterprise, Bucharest; Ion Bordea, instructor at the Central Council for Worker Control of Economic and Satellite Activities; Petre Botoran, director of the Slatina Aluminum Processing Enterprise, Olt County; Octavian Broasca, director of the Sintorman Quarry Exploitation, Constanta County; Iuliana Bucur, state secretary at the Ministry of the Light Industry; Virgil Butca, instructor at the Central Committee of the RCP; Elena Zoia Ceausescu, principal scientific researcher, head of the mathematics department at the Bucharest National Institute for Scientific Creation and Technology; Grigore Chereches, foreman at the Zalau Enterprise for Iron and Steel Industrial Fittings, Salaj County; Ion Cercel, director of the Vilcea County Enterprise for Construction-Assembly; Constantin Ciobanu, locksmith, toolmaker, and diemaker at the Birlad Ball Bearing Enterprise, Vaslui County; Victor Ciora, cabinet maker at the Heliade Furniture and Decorations Enterprise, Bucharest; Ana Ciurea, director of the Carpatex Enterprise, Brasov; Gheorghe Cismigiu, director of the Foisor Construction, Repairs, and Housing Administration Enterprise, Bucharest; Dumitru Comsa, mechanic at the Fetesti CFR Depot, Ialomita County; Stefan Costas, latheworker at the Arad Mechanical Enterprise for Agriculture and the Food industry; Gheorghe Craciun, chief inspector at the Alba County Forestry Inspectorate; Mihai Cutuhan, engineer at the Carpati Central Economic Office, Bucharest; Vasile Darie, longshoremen team leader at the Port of Constanta Exploitation Enterprise; Mihai Dascalu, Building foreman at the Constanta Local Construction Trust; Mihail Dur, director of the Craiova Enterprise for Tractors and Agricultural Machinery, Dolj County; Mircea Fartat, power foreman at the Mintia Electric Power Central, Hunedoara County; Ioan Filip, lead foreman at the Timisoara Mechanical Enterprise, Timis County; Dumitru Gadea, mechanic, brigade leader at the Oltenita Enterprise for Ship Building and Casting, Calarasi County; Mihai Gainariu, secretary of the Suceava County Committee of the RCP; Elena Ghenea, weaving forewoman at the Bucharest Upholstering Fabric Enterprise; Alexandru Gindu, chief inspector at the Vaslui County Forestry Inspectorate; Cornel Grama, director of the Maramures Enterprise for Geologic Prospecting and Explorations; Dumitru Gugui, technical director of the Floresti Tire Enterprise, Prahova County; Ion Iancu, adjuster in the chemical department of the Electroaparataj Enterprise, Bucharest; Florin Ilie, director of the Vilcea Forestry Enterprise for Exploitation and Transportation; Elena Ilie, shoe maker at the Progresul Leather and Footwear Enterprise, Bucharest; Gheorghe Jula, director of the Satu Mare Enterprise for Spare Parts and Chemical Equipment; Iuliu Kadar, chairman of the Textila Crafts Cooperative, Covasna; Iosif Kovacs, pro-rector at the Babes-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Cluj County; Gheorghe Lazar, deputy minister for Wood Industrialization and Construction Materials; Ioan Lazarescu, director of the Marmura Enterprise, Bucharest; Ioan Macrea, foreman at the Sibiu Automobile Parts Enterprise; Teodor Maghiar, lecturer at the Oradea Higher Education Institute, Bihor County; Nicolae Felician Maier, director of the Zalau Enamelled Electrical Conductors Enterprise, Salaj County; Octavian Mangher, foreman at the Botosani Tooling and Spare Parts Enterprise; Arke Marcus, director of the Timisoara Electotimis Enterprise; Maria Marin, deputy brigade leader at the Videle Oil Derrick, Teleorman County; Virgiliu-Napoleon Marinescu, director of the Cimpina Casting Enterprise, Prahova County; Andrei Menhardt, director of the Bucharest Enterprise for Wood Furniture Products;

Adalbert Mihaly, leader of the furnace department at the Vlahita Iron Enterprise, Harghita County; Ioan Moceanu, foreman at the Cimpia Turzii Metallurgical Combine, Cluj County; Ioan Muntean, lead foreman at the Hunedoara Steel Combine; Mihai Nestian, brigade leader at the Vulcan Mining Enterprise, Hunedoara County; Dumitru Nistor, electrician at the Prejmer IAS (State Agricultural Enterprise), Brasov County; Patru Paun, director of the Electrocentrale Portile de Fier I Enterprise, Drobeta-Turnu Severin; Marius Sabin Peculea, plant director at the Rimnicu Vilcea Chemical Site; Arghir Pop, department leader at the Baia Sprie Central Flotation, Maramures County; Eugen Sandu, director of the Buzau Wire and Wire Products Enterprise; Mircea Sfetcovici, director of the Textila Enterprise, Pitesti, Arges County; Emil Silvas, director of the Singeorgiu de Mures Beef Research and Production Station, Mures County; Ioan Simioana, brigade leader at the Heliade Furniture and Decorations Enterprise, Bucharest; Nicolae Simescu, lead foreman at the Filipestii de Padure Mining Enterprise, Prahova County; Dragos Simulescu, department leader at the Electroaparataj Enterprise, Bucharest; Viorel Stegaru, director of the Vinexport Enterprise, Focsani, Vrancea County; Teodor Suteu, director of the Fagaras Chemical Combine, Brasov County; Voicu Tache, rector of the Bucharest Polytechnic Institute; Constantin Teodorescu, director of the National Institute for Scientific Creation and Technology; Constantin Toma, secretary of the Bacau County Committee of the RCP; Nicolae Toma, specialist lead foreman at the Bucharest Trust for Chemical Equipment Installation, Slobozia Site, Ialomita County; Vasile Tudor, director of the Filipestii de Padure Mine, Prahova County; Petre Gheorghe Tenea, director general at the Ministry of the Machine Building Industry; Ioan Vlasiu, sculptor; Mihail Welter, director of the Alba Iulia Porcelain Enterprise, Alba County; Constantin Zamfir, steelmaker lead foreman at the Galati Steel Combine;

Order of Agricultural Merit Class II, was awarded to: Ana Dascalescu, vineyard farm leader at the Bucium IAS, Iasi County; Elisabeta Domian, economist at the Salonta CAP (Agricultural Production Cooperative) Bihor County; Anghel Gheorghe, chairman of the Gherghita CAP, Prahova County; Voicu-Sabin Ivascu, director of the Arad Agroindustrial Unit; Ioan Josu, chairman of the Topolavatu Mare CAP, Timis County; Stefan Mazilu, chairman of the Padina CAP, Buzau County; Mihai Petcu, veterinary doctor at the Mogosoaia IAS; Nicolae Pindichi, lead technician at the Constanta Agroindustrial Unit; Constantin Popescu, instructor at the Department for Party Work Problems in Agriculture, of the Central Committee of the RCP; Vadim Rusu, director of the Balaciu IAS, Ialomita County; Gheorghe Salomeia, horticultural technician at the Husi IAS, Vaslui County; Eleonora Toma, peasant cooperative member at the Dor Marunt CAP, Calarasi County; Mihai Tudorie, director of the Matca Intercooperative Economic Association, Galati County; Constantin Verdes, chairman of the Iasi County Union of Agricultural Production Cooperatives; Nicolae Vilcea, chief engineer at the Oprisor CAP, Mehedinti County;

Order of Scientific Merit Class II was awarded to: Flaviu Patriciu Bizo, director of the Cluj-Napoca Institute for Research and Design; Valentin Ceausescu, principal Scientific Researcher, scientific secretary of the Bucharest Institute of Physics and Nuclear engineering; George Cojocaru,

director of the Bucharest Institute for Technical Planning for the Light industry; Eugenia-Viorica Dobrescu, Scientific deputy director of the Bucharest Institute for Chemical Research; Dumitru Goldea, Scientific deputy director of the Ploiesti Institute for Research, Technical Engineering, and Design for Refineries, Prahova County; Cristian-Ioan Hera, director of the Fundulea Research Institute for the Cultivation of Grain and Technical Crops, Calarasi County; Titus Suba, director of the Lovrin Agricultural Research Station, Timis County;

Order of Cultural Merit Class II was awarded to: Eftimie Birleanu, vice-chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists; Nicolae Dragos, deputy first editor-in-chief of the newspaper SCINTEIA; Alexandru Giugaru, actor, Bucharest; Ion Irimescu, chairman of the Union of Plastic Artists; Martin Izsak, sculptor, Targu Mures;

Order of Health Merit, Class II was awarded to: Nicu George Ionescu, dean of the General Medicine School at the Cluj-Napoca Institute for Medicine and Pharmacy, Cluj County; Stelian Ivascu, department leader at Bucharest Clinical Hospital, Sector 4; Andrei Firica, director of the Bucharest Emergency Clinical Hospital; Constantin Opris, director of the Baia Mare County Hospital; Dumitru Suciu, director of the Sibiu County Health Directorate; Liviu Vulcu, director of the Alba County Health Directorate.

By presidential decree, 1231 orders and 5100 medals of the Socialist Republic Romania were awarded to workers, foremen, engineers, peasant cooperative members, researchers, designers, teaching personnel, doctors, art and culture contributors, as well as activists in party, state, mass organization, and public organization activities.

11,023
CSO: 2700/272

YUGOSLAVIA

PASIC DISCUSSES CHANGES NEEDED IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade PRIVREDNI PREGLED in Serbo-Croatian 16-18, 19 Jul 83

[Interview with Dr Najdan Pasic, professor, scholar and presiding judge of the Constitutional Court of Serbia, member of the LCY Central Committee, by PRIVREDNI PREGLED editor Rodoljub Zivkovic: "It Is a Bureaucratic Illusion That Relations Can Be Changed by a Mere Amendment of Enactments"; date and place not specified]

[16-18 Jul 83 pp 1, 6]

[Text] Dr Najdan Pasic, professor, scholar and presiding judge of the Constitutional Court of Serbia, member of the LCY Central Committee, responded to a request by the editors of PRIVREDNI PREGLED to answer several questions by our editor Rodoljub Zivkovic. The interview was conducted concerning the proposal for the undertaking of certain measures to correct some shortcomings in the functioning of the political system, concerning what has been undertaken so far and what is being worked on in the amendments and supplements to the system, and there was also mention of the causes of the standstill of the process of integration, cases of regional encapsulation, and the shattering of the unified Yugoslav market, and so on.

[Question] In the fall of 1982 you wrote a letter to the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee in which among other things you noted in several points that even in the most important domains of social life some things are moving in a direction that is diametrically opposite to the commitments which have been set forth in documents, plans and decisions. For that reason, Comrade Pasic, please indicate for readers of PRIVREDNI PREGLED what were the basic positions contained in that letter?

[Answer] A year back, at the 12th LCY Congress, where I participated in the work of the second section, I spoke about the problems of the functioning of the political system and pointed up certain problems, problems I would say to be very urgent ones in view of our overall situation at the present. I repeated this appeal of mine that certain measures be taken to correct certain shortcomings in the functioning of the political system in the second plenary

session of the LCY Central Committee, which came a month later. There were, of course, other comrades, public figures and scholars speaking about these problems as well, but my speech perhaps drew more attention because I tried to offer certain concrete proposals as well on what ought to be done to correct the shortcomings that had become evident in the functioning of the political system. My speech was mainly aimed at identifying problems which even today are very urgent and whose solution should be undertaken immediately. I proposed, first, that we ascertain what I would call the "neuralgic points" in the system, in order to organize ourselves for taking appropriate measures and so that on that basis an action might begin by the League of Communists and the other organized socialist forces. In the proposal which I then submitted--at the request of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee--in written form (this later came to be known as the "letter") I spoke about difficulties in the functioning of the delegate system, about the slowness and ineffectiveness of the process of political decisionmaking, and especially about major lapses in the conduct of the established and agreed policy; then about urgent issues concerning organization on the basis of interest, that is, about developments in our society which have begun to travel other paths for that kind of organization and those set forth in the constitution, which has begun to distort the very concept of the communities of interest, and cases of bureaucratic deformations in this area have begun to multiply. And finally, I spoke about the excessive normativism and of its causes, about responsibility and about personnel policy. Quite understandably I also turned particular attention to the matters of relations between sociopolitical communities at different levels, starting with the question of the extent to which transformations in this area have been consistent with the conception contained in the constitution.

[Question] What was undertaken thereafter, and what is being worked on at the present moment?

[Answer] It is very encouraging that the initiative gained wide support both from the public and also from the League of Communists. The written proposal which I submitted has been taken up on several occasions, including the LCY Presidium. Then there followed the recommendation that a special working group be created within the Federal Social Council for Affairs of the Social System, which began its work at the end of last year. The material of that working group and its recommendations--its view of a possible work schedule and program for solving these problems in the functioning of the political system--will soon be before the council and will be made public.

At this point we are greatly preoccupied with the set of economic problems proper, with all those difficulties we are having in the area of international trade, in an effort to carry out the indispensable restructuring of the economy, to increase its productivity, to revive the organizational entities in reproduction that had been "interrupted." But my aim was to call attention to the fact that these problems cannot be resolved successfully unless the political system itself is organized in such a way that it can guarantee that the agreed policy is carried out. Many others also pointed that out, and that view was finally adopted.

After all, sometimes it takes even quite large and serious disruptions if there is to be a change of direction and turnabout at certain points of development. However, this cannot be achieved unless the political system is able to guarantee consistent implementation of policy. As a matter of fact, for every revolutionary movement, and especially for the LC as the revolutionary party which assumes responsibility for development of this society, the essential question concerns its own capability to effectively influence the direction of social developments. However, there are a number of indications that in recent years the ability of the League of Communists and other organized socialist forces to effectively influence the content and direction of social developments and to ensure performance of the tasks which have been set has declined. After all, there is a striking gap between the strategic goals and commitments expressed in the official programmatic documents and legal norms, on the one hand, and that which is happening in real life on the other.

The desired results are not being achieved along several key strategic lines. For example, there are things which indicate even a movement in the diametrically opposite direction. I would just recall some of them to illustrate. It is clear, for example, that we cannot win the main battle for the self-management transformation of production relations until we achieve a system with a high degree of self-management integration at the level of Yugoslavia as a whole. This is a decisive issue of both economic policy and the policy governing our society's overdevelopment, and also of interethnic relations and all the other problems which have vital importance to the life of socialist Yugoslavia. After all, the fact cannot be ignored that many domains of life are caught up in the processes of disintegration, regional encapsulation, the breaking up of public property into pieces, and so on. It is well known that the level of material linkage and regular commodity trade among the various parts of the country is lower than it was some 10 years ago. This must, of course, disturb us and move us to act to intercept those adverse tendencies as soon as possible.

Much the same is true with respect to other strategic commitments. It is said, for example, that our goal and our commitment--and that not since yesterday, but for several years, it might be said since the 8th LCY Congress--is for the workers through the development of self-management to begin to decide on total social accumulation, on the social surplus value of labor. That is, not only concerning that part of the product which remains in the organization of associated labor for simple reproduction, but also about the movement of "social capital," about the forms and directions of its integration and linkage, about economically optimum circulation. But research into the causes of certain major failures in investment policy show that associated labor has very often been excluded when the most important decisions were made concerning distribution of the already scanty resources of social accumulation. There were large-scale investments made which proved to be mistaken and inefficient, since often they were more an expression of the megalomaniac ambition of certain regional political communities and their vision of the autarkic development of their own community, and to a lesser extent were they based on the freely expressed interests of associated labor and the economic laws which dictate a much more optimal management of "social capital." So here again there is an obvious gap between what is being proclaimed and what is being achieved,

between voluntaristic bureaucratic practice and the operation of objective economic laws.

At the present level of development of the material productive forces and in the present domestic and international constellation of circumstances it is not possible to even imagine effective functioning of the economy unless conditions are created for economic laws and the world economy to exert their influence, stimulating a fight for the most economical possible management of the resources of society and for the highest possible productivity. However, we see that under the pressure of the difficulties of the moment we are resorting to an ever greater number of administrative measures. To such an extent, it would seem, that there is a question of whether it is even exceeding the limit where quantity becomes a new quality, in other words, whether we are not passing into a new administrative system, although we did not choose it, but indeed have declared ourselves in favor of the opposite.

How To Prevent "Social Capital" From Being Broken up Into Pieces

Everything I have spoken about indicates the need to make an examination, a more detailed and comprehensive examination, of the political system's relationship to developments of this kind in the socioeconomic sphere. The question of the kind of influence the political system has on all these developments obviously cannot be evaded. Is it perhaps the political system itself, certain of its institutions and specific solutions, that are nourishing all these manifestations? Analyses made at the micro and macro levels often show that political interventions of various kinds have a large and sometimes even decisive share in various cases of disintegration, regional encapsulation and the like. Consequently, if we desire a way out of this situation, then we should first of all discover the deeper roots of the adverse manifestations and examine in that light the complex of problems related to the functioning of the political system.

[Question] The process of society's integration on the foundation of self-management--as you have said on one occasion--is at a standstill, and broad areas of economic, political and ideological life have been caught up in disintegrative processes. That is, there are more and more cases of regional encapsulation at a low level and of a shattering of the unified Yugoslav market, as well as of breaking up "social capital" into pieces on the basis of group ownership.

[Answer] The roots of these manifestations are contradictions in the production relations of socialist self-management, which is not yet adequately developed. In his important study on the contradictions of social ownership Comrade Kardelj pointed out the basic contradictions of the production relations of self-management at the present level of their development. After all, social ownership is actually social only insofar as the associated workers manage that property, and that not only in the individual work organization, but in the totality of the processes of social reproduction. I would also emphasize a fundamental premise of reflections of this kind: every modern society can exist successfully and develop only if it has solved the problem of economically and technologically optimum circulation of the resources for social

reproduction. That is, every system must solve it in its own particular way. This is solved, for example, in one way by contemporary capitalism in its various versions; here you find a tie-up of the government and the top levels of financial capital, of large national and multinational companies. This functions with quite a few jerks and difficulties, but nevertheless it does yield adequate results in the economic and material sense. However, in the broader area--social and political--this reproduces great power on the part of the government bureaucracy and still more on the part of those top levels of concentrated capital.

In the socialist countries, on the other hand, which base their material existence on state monopoly ownership, once again--through a system of thoroughly centralized administrative planning--the question of economically optimum distribution of resources is solved in a way with greater or lesser shortcomings. But this system also has some internal logic of its own. To be sure, it also reproduces on an ever increasing scale independent power of the government and party bureaucracy, which can be the basis for various Stalinist deformations in the political system. Finally, we should say that socialist self-management is also able to grow up to be an entire system for the organization of the entire society only if it builds its own particular mechanism for the economically optimum circulation and concentration of resources for social reproduction, which is a condition for successful development of the productive forces. I think, then, that this is our number one task, the question which lies at the root of all the other issues. Authentic social domination of associated labor cannot be achieved otherwise.

Gradual Liquidation of Administrative Centralism of the Federal Government Has Not Strengthened Associated Labor

It has already been said more than once, and indeed Comrade Kardelj stated it this way, that the basic decisive conflict in our society is between the self-management structure of associated labor on the one hand, and the remnants of state-monopoly ownership and bureaucratic-technocratic usurpation on the other. It is a question, then, of who in practice actually disposes of the surplus value of social labor, the resources of accumulation, or, in other words, who is managing the "social capital"? The problem was taken up quite some time ago, and indeed in the study mentioned Edvard Kardelj points out that the stratum of political managers must in some way be deprived of the possibility of acting in the role of "acting co-owner of the social means of production." The constitution contains several provisions whose purpose is to prevent formation of "government" or "bank" (anonymous) capital outside the control of associated labor. However, if we look at reality, we see that gradual liquidation of the administrative centralism of the federal government has not had the result of an immediate strengthening of the position of associated labor, but there has been a redistribution of statist functions and of independent bureaucratic power; the relations of sociopolitical communities have been altered, but not always in keeping with the needs of associated labor, but rather there has in part been a redistribution of power over associated labor.

Criticism of statism and the fight against it can be successful only if they have to do with its concrete forms which are dominant today. Reiterating criticism of statism of the federal government, of unitarism, and so on, certainly cannot yield the desired result. However, those who are affected by criticism of republic and provincial and indeed even opstina statism are inclined to interpret all criticism of those forms of statism, which today are indubitably dominant, as an appeal for a return to the old, to restoration of the monopoly of the federal government. This only impedes and hinders the discussion of the real problems.

Criticism of statism must enter into a detailed analysis of the question of the scope and content of authority possessed by the agencies of sociopolitical communities, above all those agencies of the republics and provinces that make decisions about the conditions for conduct of economic activity. Extensive and arbitrary interpretation of this authority can create a relationship of quasi-ownership toward the social means of production because in the present situation it is mainly the republic and province, and to some extent, the opstina and regional bureaucracy as well, that figures as the "acting owner of social property." I think this is something that ought to be the subject of study. We ought to see where, why and at what point the limits set down in the constitution have been exceeded with respect to the tasks and powers of sociopolitical communities to regulate the conditions for conduct of economic activity. Why, for example, has what the constitution postulated only as a possible exception, in certain precisely enumerated situations, begun to turn into a rule and be used almost without exception. And precisely for that reason a different system for circulation of the resources for reproduction than that projected by the constitution is being created.

[19 Jul 83 p 4]

[Text] [Question] You have also pointed to the uncontrolled and constant growth of the administrative apparatus in the staff services of sociopolitical communities and political organizations, SIZ's [self-managed community of interest] and elsewhere. There are in fact official data on this.

[Answer] I think that the growth of the bureaucracy reflects the situation with respect to the disposition of the surplus value of social labor. That is, various administrative functions follow from the hypertrophied mechanism for regulation of the conditions for conduct of economic activity, and that presupposes and requires ever larger administrative and managerial apparatuses. Without claiming to enter into any very profound analysis, it might be concluded that the striking tendencies toward steady growth of administrative apparatuses have, among others, three interconnected causes: the great dependence of associated labor on centers of political decisionmaking, and then the ramified regulative measures of intervention and the functions of governmental and paragovernmental agencies, and finally, the tendency toward autarky, which is manifested both within associated labor and also in sociopolitical communities. When everyone wants to have his own administrative apparatus pertaining to all the activities carried on and thus be completely free to do what it pleases, in that case, under the conditions of functional decentralization such as exists in our country, both within the work organization and also

within every sociopolitical community new needs are constantly arising for all possible staff services and for specialized and administrative apparatuses.

Ways Have To Be Found To Take Power Away From the Administrative Apparatus

We should also mention among the causes of the growth of administration the rather complicated and entangled system of establishing norms governing social relations. When there are so many enactments, there also has to be a large number of their interpreters, those who will help people to get their bearings somehow in that virgin forest of regulations. Thus every entity in self-management and every government entity must have a large number of legal experts and specialists in various fields who are supposed to make it possible to make way through the complicated system of regulations governing relations.

[Question] How do you interpret the exaggerated use of the normative power of the government and the great dependence of associated labor on centers of political decisionmaking which have become independent? How is associated labor to be freed of what we refer to as the relationship of tutelage so that in future legislation does not deal with the last detail, and in that way bureaucratic behavior in practice is avoided?

[Answer] Ways have to be found of taking from the administrative apparatus the prerogatives of "acting owner of the social means of production." A battle has to be waged here not only with norms and regulations, since the constitution itself has provided the basis for settling these issues to the advantage of associated labor. The organized forces have to be more vigorous and decisive in taking the side of associated labor; however, in the behavior of the forums and bodies of sociopolitical organizations, including even the League of Communists, one often notes a rather vacillating or even dual attitude. What is proclaimed and formally insisted on is one thing, and the large-scale direct involvement of those same bodies in the performance of functions which are frequently administrative is something else. Sometimes this even appears to be imposed by the situation itself. It seems like the shortest and fastest way, for example, for the League of Communists to undertake on its own to solve even the current problems of the economy. But actually this is not the right way to get out of the difficulties that exist. Accordingly, we should see that the League of Communists operates in a spirit which is appropriate to the system of self-management, that is, as a mobilizer of the working people and as the initiator of the self-management mechanisms that exist, but it should not exist merely as a part of the administrative apparatus.

[Question] More and more frequently in interviews with directors of large work organizations we hear about their powerlessness. Will anything be done to reduce the normativism (the legal system is regulated by 700 laws, and over the last 7 years all of 2,500 laws, sublegal acts and general regulations have been passed)?

[Answer] We have to free ourselves more quickly of bureaucratic illusions to the effect that real social relations can be altered by amending legislation. It is characteristic of every revolutionary moment that it must in a rather large degree use the organized normative power of the government. This is

another respect in which our own movement has not been an exception, and I think that this is a historic law. In the final analysis the working class should derive all the advantages which it can derive from controlling the levers of government power. But it is also very easy to cross that line of what is optimum and truly justified in social terms. When that way of operating becomes ingrained, then the bureaucratic illusion that everything can be solved just by amending legislation also takes root. Whenever things get "stuck," it is said that a piece of legislation should be amended, but there is no insistence on organizing efforts to alter relations first within the framework of the normative relations that exist. That is what we lack.

In stating your question you also referred to statements by directors who complain that their "hands and feet are tied." That is indeed the case. But it is not just because of the number of pieces of legislation which have to do with the operation of the work organization in a particular area, but also because an appropriate system for the unity of the legal system in the country has not been achieved. Actually that kind of uniform legal system--I am, of course, not referring to its total uniformity--is indispensable in order to protect the uniform production relations, to implement the constitutional principle that the free pooling of labor and capital should be ensured over the entire economic space of Yugoslavia, to facilitate the free movement of labor and manpower, to create incentives for the processes of linkage based on income sharing, integration, and so on.

It Is Suspicious When the Outlines of Integration Coincide With the Borders of Sociopolitical Communities

If we look more closely at our legal enactments, we see that there is quite a bit of unevenness and of contradictory and discordant solutions. This also makes it harder for organizations of associated labor to exist, especially those complex ones. There are cases where inconsistent legal enactments, especially pertaining to different regions, have actually "sponsored" the disintegration of such organizations. Incidentally, it is likely that we would not have had such rapid "disintegration" of large economic systems in the country if it had not been for the contribution of the unevenness of legal enactments and the actual creation of differing legal systems for "one's own enterprises" and those from other republics or other opstinas. Large systems in the fuel and power industry, transportation and the like ought by the nature of things to embrace the entire territory of Yugoslavia.

Of course, in view of the specific conditions and interests smaller regional mergers are possible and also justified, and they can then link up with one another in that form. But the matter becomes suspicious when always the outlines of integration coincide with the borders of regional political communities. It is difficult to believe that this is dictated by reasons of economic logic and optimalization. Often there is verbal encouragement of the pooling of labor and capital and the creation of SOUR's [complex organization of associated labor]. But the appropriate conditions, political and legal, also have to be created for that kind of integration. Something more is now being done on this at present. Ensuring the necessary degree of unity of the legal system is a large and ongoing task of the assemblies of sociopolitical communities

and of all other entities involved in the process of adopting standards governing social relations at various levels.

[Question] Why is the League of Communists burdened more and more not only with administrative functions, but also with the function of operating as a professional manager in our economy, in our economic life?

[Answer] Here again there is a predictable pattern, so that this is not altogether accidental. The League of Communists is naturally striving to preserve its leading role in the system and to be there whenever decisions of any moment are made. So, consciously and unconsciously the LC shifts the focus of its effort where the real decisions are made. The fact that the League of Communists is burdened with so many executive and business-management functions is a reliable indicator that actually the focus of power and of real decisionmaking still does not lie in self-managed organizations and communities. Changing this situation, of course, requires that we change the attitude and activity of the League of Communists. But until the real distribution of social power is changed, we cannot expect the League of Communists to change the direction of its effort. After all, if in the future, as up to now, decisions are made on the connecting lines between business-management and executive bodies and agencies and various coordinating groups, but the League of Communists turns exclusively to the delegate system, it would be "giving up the reins." Transferring the focus of the activity of the League of Communists to the bodies of self-management presupposes that a change of direction is also made in the distribution of jurisdiction and power and that the most important, key and strategic decisions, and thereby the conditions for carrying them out and achieving them, are transferred to the self-management structure. Which means that we cannot simply call upon the League of Communists to transfer the focus of its effort there, but rather there has to be a fight waged so that the basic flows of political decisionmaking are transferred to the self-managing and delegate mechanism within which the League of Communists would operate as the leading ideological and political force. In that case there would also be less and less need for the League of Communists to become directly and operationally involved in the work of executive bodies and indeed to take over actual operational and business-management functions.

[Question] How do you interpret the present tendency toward apologetics, in which scholars are prepared to offer day-to-day politics and to provide it "scientific documentation"?

[Answer] In all social systems in history, and it still applies today, there has existed a more or less overt or covert pressure on science by day-to-day politics. There have always been pragmatic demands for science to be the "handmaid" of politics. Even today this is achieved in various ways in various systems, through money or direct political pressure. However, in a self-managing society science ought to be protected from pressures to a greater extent than in societies where ownership monopoly and hierarchy prevail. But this can be achieved only if science itself is put in a position of self-management, if it does not stand in the most direct dependence on political centers which can often even define very narrowly and pragmatically the task of the particular scientific disciplines and thus impart to science too much

bureaucratic arbitrariness. I think that our social science has nevertheless experienced a renaissance with the development of self-management.

Much Is Being Written and Said About Responsibility

There are countries in which there hardly exists any true social science and critical scientific thought any more: so great is the degree of day-to-day pressure by bureaucratic pragmatism. I think there is a need even in our case to go a step further in strengthening the independent social position of science. It would, of course, be dangerous to separate science from the tasks and problems society is grappling with. But it is one thing for science to be committed to elucidating the basic laws of social development in a particular historical stage, to be conducting a critical exploration for the roots of various deformations, and something else for it to be "hitched up to the car of day-to-day politics" in the sense that science is supposed to "rubber-stamp," to place its authority on every sociopolitical step that is taken and to make the case for its justifiability and optimality, and then immediately thereafter, when that same measure is changed, to argue just the opposite. This can only compromise science. Society is not then in a position to use what critical scientific thought can offer in the sense of effective guidance of social developments.

[Question] On one occasion, Comrade Pasic, you said: "We cannot say that we have an advance system of self-management until we have the kind of advanced system of responsibility which society is calling for." Why is it that we are lagging behind in building up the kind of responsibility demanded by the self-management nature of social relations?

[Answer] Yes, I did say that there is no advanced self-management system without a corresponding system of self-management responsibility, and that is surely so. But it is easier to make that observation than to offer a concrete proposal of how inconsistencies in achieving the system of responsibility are to be corrected in practice. In some of my writings I have attempted to point up just some of the segments of this issue. I think that there is also a great deal said and written about responsibility in our country, but mainly in declarative terms. Mechanisms for establishing responsibility, for public accountability, not only in exceptional situations and when certain incidents and excesses occur, but as a part of regular political practice, have not been introduced and have not taken root. Another problem lies in the fact that there is DUAL RESPONSIBILITY--formal and actual. Formal responsibility does not coincide with actual responsibility; rather frequently an executive or professional management body is formally accountable to a body, but objectively it is dependent on some other body.

Thus the member of an executive council or other council, for example, is formally accountable for his work only to the corresponding delegate assembly. However, with respect to his future assignment and "political career," he does not depend on the assembly, but on smaller groups, formal and informal, which have a de facto monopoly on decisionmaking concerning personnel matters. And as soon as someone holding political, public and social office is accountable to a body, but is in fact dependent on other factors, then the chain of

responsibility is broken; in that sense we are suffering the adverse consequences of a personnel policy that is still rather shut off from the public. After all the democratic changes which we have made in the political system, two powerful levers of independent power have still so to speak been left untouched. They are on the one hand, as has already been said, disposition of the resources of social accumulation and regulation of the conditions for the conduct of economic activity, and the other is the taking of actual decisions concerning personnel policy, concerning the assignment of the stratum of political managers, which is still quite numerous and influential. Authentic democratization has still not made a serious inroad into this area.

[Question] It is a fact that we have not built into the system a real method for entering public office, still less a mechanism for leaving it.

[Answer] It especially applies to the latter. I think that in this respect the Socialist Alliance should carry out a more resolute effort. I am informed that work is being done to prepare a new version of the law on elections. Ways obviously have to be found to strengthen the responsibility of those who hold self-management, public and other offices to their respective constituencies, and that both with respect to their taking up those posts and also with respect to their recall and dismissal even before their term of office has expired.

[Question] As the presiding judge of a constitutional court please tell us how you look on the datum that with respect to the number of court cases we are among those countries in the world with the greatest number of "conflicts." Doesn't this number of court cases threaten in future to markedly diminish the functions of the judicial system?

[Answer] What the constitutional court confronts certainly indicates a need, first of all, to find still more effective instruments for protecting public property, since relations in this area are in a state of great disorder and group-ownership tendencies are very pronounced--a source of an enormous number of court cases. In our system we now have a number of quasi-conventional institutions and relations having to do with ownership. It is well known that no one in our country has rights of ownership to public property, i.e., no one can appropriate the fruits of someone else's labor on the basis of the ownership relation. However, a more detailed and rather critically oriented analysis of real situations in practice shows that there are indeed opportunities to realize income which has not been earned almost on the basis of a monopoly, of "farming little pieces" of public property. This disrupts and undermines the system as a whole. In that sense the protection of public property is the most important task in the fight for the production relations of self-management.

It is significant that the forms of integration based on social ownership have not yet established themselves to a great degree, just as when it comes to protecting public property we very often are protecting joint income and joint revenues, above all the "right" of those representing group-ownership tendencies, instead of the other way around. Constant emphasis is being put only on the danger of centralizing the disposition of resources, of their becoming

detached from the base, and sufficient attention is not paid to the equal danger of breaking public property up into pieces, which also weakens the overall social position of the working class. After all, public property is not that of the OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] nor of the opstina. The manner in which relations are broken off within fairly broad entities in reproduction without penalties indicates how strong the group-ownership tendencies are, tendencies which easily serve as a screen for technocratic and bureaucratic manipulation and usurpation. If social ownership is to be truly social, it must be integrated and linked up, the income which is created must be both the income of workers organized in OOUR's and work organizations, but also social income, which must be treated by all with full responsibility. If matters were straightened out in this regard, there would not be so many conflicts about the disposition of the social resources for reproduction, nor the need for such extensive government intervention with regulations and through the courts. Reduction of the legal "output" would open up more room for regulation of relations through self-management, and by that very fact there would not be so many opportunities for conflicts between self-management acts and laws. If the effort is made to regulate everything to the end with laws, then naturally general self-management acts cease to be self-managing in nature, and they come into conflict with that establishment of norms by the government, which is so detailed. After all, experience shows that detailed legislation of standards often departs from the real needs of a particular community. The working people, for example, adopt acts mindful of their own immediate need. But since such norms have in some way to be brought into formal conformity with the law, the workers are forced to incorporate into their self-management acts norms which envisage procedures whose sole purpose is to meet the forms prescribed by law. And that results in formalization and a constant increase in the number of general self-management acts and their constant amendment.

[Question] There have been quite a few objections addressed in our country to the conduct of personnel policy. It is said that for years it has been left to forums, to coordinating committees, that it is conducted in exclusive circles and behind closed doors, and a monopoly of personnel is the consequence, instead of business acumen, professional competence and responsibility.

[Answer] I have already answered that question in part. But I think that that is a part of the overall process of the deeper self-management democratization of overall social relations. It is equally related to the goal already proclaimed of more consistent and rapid implementation of the principle of deprofessionalization of political life. In this area there certainly cannot be a change of direction overnight, but the main course must be clear. [We cannot] demand that political professionalism be abolished all at once. But nor can we reconcile ourselves to a situation where we have the opposite trend, where the number of political professionals--in one way or another--is increasing, that new politicians are being recruited whose professional performance of political functions becomes a lasting and sole occupation and commitment throughout their life.

The Level of Compulsory Performance Is Not Especially High

[Question] The delegate system has been well conceived, but it is not functioning altogether as anticipated. In the future, then, Comrade Pasic, will it be necessary to mainly establish a more correct relationship among the government, the market and self-management?

[Answer] The functioning of organizations of associated labor must be subject to the effect of all three factors: the government and its regulations, linkage within self-management, and autonomous regulation of relations within associated labor through the operation of the market mechanism. It is also important to remove one misconception here. It is certain that there are contradictions between the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, as the free and voluntary decision of people, and the operation of an economic necessity. But this ought not to push us into any devotion to economic spontaneity, still less into some voluntarism which ignores economic laws. A few days ago, for example, there was discussion in a sizable assembly about whether obligations are taken lightly in self-management accords and social compacts, and the reason it seems that way is that it is known in advance that the level of mandatory performance is not especially high, that it is possible to "escape" those obligations without penalty when an occasion arises or when this is sought by the interests of the moment of the individual entities which have signed them. Self-management accords and social compacts will have an important constructive effect, or, to put it better, will be an important instrument for taking conscious control of social developments, only if objective economic laws are sufficiently taken into account when those accords and compacts are concluded, and only if the real economic interests of organizations of associated labor are those which they themselves declare to be the initial basis for concluding accords and compacts. We cannot deny that organizations of associated labor are autonomous commodity producers on the market and that they are placed in a position of having to behave as good commodity producers. And that means being mindful of economic laws, studying the market, adapting to it, seeking out possibilities for economic optimization of every type in order to achieve the best possible economic result.

Accordingly, the conclusion of self-management accords and social compacts, if it does not take this into account, if it ignores all that, comes into conflict with the immediate interests of organizations of associated labor as entities involved in commodity-money relations which must realize income in order to survive. But often the attempt is made to sanction some idea given birth outside associated labor with a self-management accord or social compact although this does not suit the real nature of social relations; then pressure is exerted to sign the relevant accord or social compact at all costs, though it be only a formality. Often indeed this is done through the direct pressure and threat of administrative consequences for anyone who does not enter into such an agreement or compact. This distorts the self-management character of these documents and their value in gradually overcoming the uncontrolled operation of economic laws.

There is a dialectical connection and both factors should be respected in the dialectical relationship of the operation of economic laws and the conclusion

of self-management accords. It is not possible to allow either the uncontrolled operation of market laws on which the self-managers cannot have an organized and conscious influence by achieving their own mutual relations in an agreed way, nor on the other hand can self-management "castles in the sky" be built. Yes, for me those are castles in the sky, those self-management accords and social compacts which ignore the real economic interests of the participants which formally sign those documents. The conclusion of self-management accords cannot be used to get organizations of associated labor to give up what in a particular situation is their evident economic interest. We suffer only damage from self-management accords and social compacts of that kind.

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STIPE SUVAR DISCUSSES YOUTH PROBLEMS

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16-17, 18, 19 Jul 83

[Article by Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee: "The Truth About Young People and the 'Truths' Which Are Being Offered to Young People"]

[16-17 Jul 83 p 2]

[Text] Recently, on 7 July, two commissions of the Croatian LC Central Committee--the Commission for Ideological Work and Information and the Commission for Activity of Party Members Among Young People--discussed current political-ideological developments among young people, and the introductory speech, from which we are offering sections edited by the author, was delivered by Stipe Suvar, member of the Presidium of the Croatian LC Central Committee.

Recently there seems to have been in a certain sense a growing concern in the ranks of the organized socialist forces of our society, and indeed even in the ranks of the League of Communists, about young people. If not about young people as such and as a body, then about some things which have been happening within their ranks or that have not been happening, or in the sense of anxiety about what might happen in the near future. And it is quite certain that the organized socialist forces, including even the League of Communists, are not sufficiently familiar with the social existence of young people and do not sufficiently study and follow their life and thinking. That is why certain stereotyped generalizations are often uttered about young people. For example: that the enormous majority of young people are committed to socialism; that they favor brotherhood and unity; that they favor the road of socialist development which we have set out on; that they are devoted to the achievements of the revolution; and that they are undertaking revolutionary continuity. But usually these statements are followed by qualifications: that all young people do not become committed to socialism simply by growing up under the conditions of a socialist society; that in this sense young people are not even a homogeneous body in their ideological and political behavior, and that all the ideologies that exist and are operative in society are expressed in their ranks; that they have the right to critical thought and have the right to be dissatisfied, and so on.

All this is fine, and perhaps it deserves to be repeated, but I think that we should go a bit further to penetrate more concretely into the social position of young people, into the characteristics and manifestations of their thinking and their everyday behavior.

These generalizing reflections about young people have quite recently been joined from another angle and often with accusatory accents toward society and toward the League of Communists itself by a segment of our sociology and other social sciences, and indeed a segment of journalism in the broadest sense of the word insofar as they have been expressing increasingly frequent assessments of a new and unhappy generation of young people--a generation which differs greatly from the generation of just yesterday and especially that of the day before yesterday. In sociology, the social sciences and journalism reproaches are being uttered ever more frequently to the effect that society and the older generations have left the present generation of young people virtually without a future and that it is more the victim of our development to date than in a position to create a favorable future for itself in terms of its life, its work and its creativity on the foundations of that development.

Lamentations and Generalizations

Then there are also various lamentations about the growth of parasitism in the ranks of the young, about the absence of work habits, about more widespread sponging, about marked moral indifference, about increasing manifestations of asocial behavior, etc.

Yet these are all generalizations of various kinds. But the time has come for nuanced, or at least more nuanced, assessments about the situation with young people and for more tangible insights into the life and problems of young people in every organization of associated labor, school, local community and every commune. And not only is it the time for a more detailed insight, but also for practical action.

Moreover, when it comes to the behavior of party members, we must ask ourselves: How to overcome the very noticeable and widespread treatment of young people from the position of tutor and patron; how to overcome the party's unique and very widespread patronizing attitude toward young people and the party's handing out assignments to others instead of setting the course for communist action, instead of being in the ranks of young people, together with its influence?

Certainly in mentioning this we must also bear very much in mind that the situation in the League of Communists itself has a great influence on the situation among young people. And in the League of Communists, as we very well know and feel, there are ideological vacillations on no small scale, cases of disorientation, cases of confusion and disappointment and indeed of unjustified dissatisfaction and caviling. Quite a few members stand about in the League of Communists like extras, and when it comes to young people it itself is like an extra, or it resorts to acting the priest. Many members of the League of Communists have adopted a petit bourgeois style of life and thought. Within the League of Communists there is on the one hand rhetorical shrillness

in meetings in which many people lose their temper and start wailing, while on the other there is the opportunistic and liberalistic attitude toward various negative manifestations and shortcomings. This situation and manifestations of this kind in the League of Communists largely stand in the way of authentic communist action and presence and influence in the ranks of young people. But they must not be alibis.

An Ongoing Process

It is beyond dispute, it seems to me, that an insidious and indeed fierce battle is being fought at this moment for the young people in our country between the organized socialist forces on the one hand and the homegrown antisocialist forces, but also the forces of special warfare from outside, on the other. Also that we must note clearly the relations of those forces in the battle, without at all overestimating or exaggerating it, without constantly inventing enemies which nevertheless remain hidden to the eyes of young people, without drawing conclusions concerning every excessive occurrence as though antisocialist riots had occurred among young people. It has become established custom with us to draw excessively weighty conclusions when there are excesses, be they isolated or occurring with some frequency. But if we must not exaggerate the manifestations and constantly cause fright by increasing the numbers of enemies of all kinds who, I repeat, usually remain invisible to young people, we dare not at the same time close our eyes to the fact that young people today are more intensely exposed to ideological and political pressures of various forces. Even in the behavior and actions of "our own" forces there have been undesirable attacks of a sort on the minds of young people. That is, even from the ranks of the organized socialist forces there have been constant, widespread and relentless expression of various messages to the effect that society has fallen into a crisis from which there is no way out, that the system has broken down, that it is not operating, that the League of Communists is altogether helpless, that irresponsibility is universal, that the government and the bureaucracy have swallowed up self-management, that the worker and citizen are in all respects the helpless victim, and so on. I would say that to some extent we are dealing here with a kind of mania for exposure or self-exposure, and that nevertheless things are usually not being seen from the right angle. Actually we ought not to be getting so angry about those "other" forces when they convey those same messages to young people.

One of the great attributes of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, if not through its entire history, then at least since the years just before preparation of the armed revolution and ever since, has been the unsparing critical frame of mind toward itself and its policy. That is exceedingly necessary even today, it is indispensable to nurture and broaden it, but--there still must always be that "but"--provided that we party members ourselves do not unintentionally, in the heat of self-criticism, omit to give vivid portrayal to those things which represent the great achievements of our society, those things which are the important and great achievements of the socialist revolution conceived as an ongoing revolutionary process.

On the other hand those pressures and outpourings of all sorts of messages toward young people also come from the ranks of those who would truly like to

change the social system in our country and to introduce or start something different, some lifesaving democracy and its freedoms from the West or "true" socialism from the East. They are presenting their arguments, messages and lessons to the ears of young people ever more aggressively and, I would say, with ever greater success.

In that sense there are also increasingly numerous attacks on the minds of young people in, for example, the unceasingly reiterated thesis that self-management in this country has truly collapsed, that it is a stage drop and decoration, that it has brought about anarchy. This, then, is decanted over into very vulgar ways of reacting and forms of thought in the ranks of young people themselves. Something like that is expressed, say, by the slogan which somewhere, I do not know where and when, was written in one of our educational institutions--I know not whether in a classroom or in the hall or in the toilet, nor is it important--as an achievement of counterrevolutionary expression through graffiti, which read: "Self-management squeals like a hysterical woman!" They transform such messages even into graffiti achievements of this kind.

Every day arguments are also launched on all sides to the effect that the political course of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia will inevitably come to failure, and they are accompanied by assertions directed toward discrediting the historic role of precisely the League of Communists, as well as by assertions that comprise the bill of indictment against the system of socialist self-management and which spread defeatism, and then messages are linked to all this to the effect that preparations should be made for the state of affairs which is to come, possibly for conditions quite out of the ordinary, and so on.

This runs from a broad range of nationalistic enmity toward party members and the League of Communists to, say, the passionate arguments of our false left to the effect that elements of neo-Stalinism are appearing more and more in the policy of the League of Communists.

In short, all the antisocialist forces are straining to win over the young people, and today that endeavor is particularly intense, postulated on the thesis that young people have lost their orientation, that they want to learn the truth about what has happened in the past, and also that their eyes need to be opened, they need to realize in what kind of society they are living and what awaits them unless they change the "regime" and the course of social development.

To this we should add or, if you like, it should have come first, all those pressures from the outside world on our country and on its path of social development, pressures which, as might have been expected and which indeed we did anticipate, have grown and are still growing since Tito's death. Let there be no mistake: we all know quite well that both of the powerful world military-political blocs by which we are in a sense encircled have their own long-range and elaborate ideological-political objectives with respect to our country which today perhaps they would like to achieve indirectly, if possible without military confrontation and primarily by using the means and methods of

special warfare. We also know that each of the blocs supports us to the extent and only to the extent that we do not become the prey of the other bloc. To be still clearer: each bloc supports us just to the extent it figures is sufficient to preserve us from being swallowed up by the other bloc. That is how their reflections must run.

Especially in this, how shall I say it, post-Tito period--anyone who carefully follows this can easily conclude that this is so--half-truths and disinformation about Yugoslavia are heaping up in those bloc constellations, but also in one segment of world public opinion. Here I might perhaps add in particular that the strategy of the bourgeois world and its military-political bloc, when it is a question of behavior toward us, is also aimed at the need to demonstrate and prove that no socialism, not a single concrete socialist experience, is worth "rotten apples," that it must not be successful, that it should be brought to its knees. (And some of our people are already frightened that they have actually skinned us through economic relations to the point where we have been brought to our knees.) And it is as though it has been proven and demonstrated that socialism cannot be successful in a single country, and this fits into the ideological struggle of the bourgeois world since the first successful socialist revolutions took place, since the October Revolution, and as though socialism as a whole is looked upon as something which is very inhuman, without prospect, in and of itself monolithic and everywhere the same; very small finesse are possible, but it has to retire from the historical scene as a kind of historical miscarriage.

Orwellian Principles

We also have a flood of various messages along these lines which are especially lying in ambush for the minds and souls of young people, the new generations, various messages bearing truths which are different from ours, from the truths presented by the organized socialist forces of our country. Among such "truths"--let us put them all in quotes--there is the one which has recently been explicated very openly even in the domestic philosophical and sociological literature: to the effect that the revolution never took place, that it is not continuing, that only now has the time come to fight for it, and that now is the time to act in preparation for it, and "acting in preparation" presupposes removing the League of Communists from the stage of history, liquidation of the present course of socialist development, which supposedly has no connection whatsoever with socialism, but has to do with a regime for primitive accumulation of a stratum of bandits and thieves. It is essentially a dispute about the nature of socialist society and over the question of whether it supposedly is even possible if it has not arisen out of advanced capitalism.

There are also the "truths" about socialism which sound very "Orwellian." This socialism inauguates the Orwellian fate of the world, that is, a Gulag from the Pacific Ocean to the Adriatic, and its derivatives have to be prevented from getting established in Africa, in America, in Europe, and so on. You can also discern how these Orwellian messages and interpretations of the world of socialism from the writing of reviews which are supposed to be entertaining, from the writing, say, of the last issue of the review START, in

which some of our supposed experts at interpreting events in the socialist countries often have their say, spread.

And there are the "truths" about communists as they have been and as they are today, "truths" about 1941, "truths" about the "dirty things" of the national liberation struggle, "truths" about the Chetniks and Ustashi, which (the "truths") convey to the young generations: the Ustashi and Chetniks were not the way you have been taught that they were, they were after all a bit different, and the Partizans were also different. The onslaught of "truth" about 1948 was and still is aggressive, as can be seen from the extensive literary output as well as from certain plays and films. And the "truth" about 1968 in the news media and other forms of cultural output are today being imposed broadcast by precisely those who since 1968 have gone off into nationalism or a false leftwing posturing. They are utterly "against," but with that "truth" of theirs they not only penetrate our news media and preach their message from the rostrum and through magazines, but this is the dominant "truth" even in a segment of young people's newspapers and magazines (especially those coming out in Belgrade). And as for the situation here in Croatia, the "truth" is being pushed about another year, about 1971, a year on which Croatian nationalism insists in the sense of reminding young people that the "mass movement" of that time was the real thing and that this will be demonstrated sooner or later, that that "mass movement" will revive and will have real chances with the Croatian people.

A Blind Spot

Then, not to go into detail, there are the "truths" about Tito, about Kardelj, which even go into their personalities. (Our federal secretary for internal affairs has even presented a report on this in the SFRY Assembly.)

In short, we are dealing here with increasingly frequent appeals for the writing and interpretation of a different history. Then there is also the search for personalities which will be examples for a portion of young people instead of the people's heroes and seven secretaries of SKOJ [Communist Youth League of Yugoslavia], Tito, and so on. As for Croatian cleronalism, there is, say, the cult of Stepinac and Martz, and when it comes to Serbian Orthodox nationalism there is the effort to revive the ideological halo of a Nikolaj Velimirovic. And then there are also, say, the assertions made even by certain Catholic priests in their sermons, that our numbers on the victims in Jasenovac are false and that we are concealing information about Bleiburg and about the "slaughter of Croats" there, so that they make comparisons between Jasenovac and Bleiburg.

It would be possible to present a multitude of examples to illustrate the dissemination of "truths" of this kind.

We are dealing with a kind of common front of the Yugoslav political opposition--so it might be called, although the word "opposition" does not seem suitable to me--a coalition running from the nationalisms of the butchers to the so-called new democratic alternative, an opposition which insists on essentially the same theses. In this context it is attempting to act in a

united fashion in a political sense, although it does not have any single organization, although widely differing ideological-political forces and orientations are involved which certainly would slaughter one another, as indeed they have slaughtered one another in the past, but the essential thing now is that they all agree that their opponents are the League of Communists and our present policy.

But I am already running the risk of overstating my topic. The subversive activity against the system on the part of all those forces is evident, but they can fish in muddy water, they can move into the vacuum, and therefore the essential thing is for us to examine to what extent we have created and are creating a vacuum in the sense of an absence of our own action, of our own ideological offensive, of our own good organization and communist activity, especially among the young age groups.

Precisely because of the vacuum in our activity, because of the blind spot, as Henri Lefebvre would call it, frequent attempts are made to impose questions implying a judgment of society and the revolution, and this certainly reaches the ears and hearts of at least one segment of young people.

As a consequence of all the circumstances which I have mentioned, it seems that there is no dispute that a critical attitude has grown up among the young generations toward everything that determines their social position and prospects and a critical attitude in the sense of skepticism--as to whether they themselves have an opportunity to alter their social status and create for themselves the most favorable possible prospects for their life and work, but a critical attitude is also growing up among young people toward society. And that in and of itself is not the reason for any anxiety and may be desirable. But we dare not view the critical bent of young people as homogeneous, but rather we must break it down into its parts, guided by the knowledge that alien orientations are making ever greater inroads into the ranks of young people and that at the same time various forms of asocial and destructive behavior are also spreading.

[18 Jul 83 p 5]

[Text] Although it sounds like a generalization, and indeed even like an eternal truth which we reiterate, once again on this occasion we must start with the observation that young people have not been included in the social system and development, that in large part they are standing about in society like extras, that they are largely outside social development, so to that extent they easily become an object of political manipulation, both "our own," if you like, and "theirs." After all, even on our own side there are often forms of activity toward young people which we can confidently describe as our own political manipulation, which is equally undesirable, if not indeed more dangerous than the political manipulations of the antisocialist forces. And when we speak here about "their" political manipulations, I am specifically thinking of nationalistic and pseudoleftist ones.

In discussing ideological-political developments among young people, especially from the standpoint of what disturbs us and insofar as we are directing

our attention toward what we consider adverse among those developments, we must take note of young people's main questions, pose them clearly, and then in our overall social and socialist action resolve them much more effectively than we have managed to do in recent years and, if you like, even decades. I would single out here several such questions.

First and most important is the extent to which young people are working and making decisions. In SR [Socialist Republic] Croatia young people represent one-third of the workers in associated labor, and often--which is something we did not know in detail before--young people are workers in some of the branches of physical production, they did not flee from them, or, if you insist, they did not manage to get away from them. However, the chances of young people in the workplace and in creativity are relatively unfavorable. And primarily here, in physical production, it is a question of creating room for the creativity of young people, for them to demonstrate their very great creative potential, to display their sensitivity, their innate desire to affirm themselves in human terms, to prove themselves. The fact that young people are displaced from the most creative forms of work in society, and then also from decisionmaking and the organization of social labor and life as a whole, is more than disturbing.

Breaking Down Seniority

The rule of a hierarchy based on seniority and titles has reached unprecedented dimensions. To be sure, this is not a phenomenon belonging to our society alone. All societies which have emerged from a plebeian revolution, like ours, have gradually "aged" in the sense of those holding responsible positions and those who are the principal protagonists in society, who have the decisive role in work, in creation, in development and in decisionmaking.

When figures are compared on the makeup of political leadership bodies and delegate bodies with similar figures in other countries, our situation is not the least favorable. Seniority or, if you like, the rule of gerontocracy in the political sphere is most pronounced, say, in China or in the Soviet Union, and indeed also in a number of other socialist countries. And by and large the situation is not much more favorable, at least as far as the political elite and political representation is concerned, even in the countries of the West which have had bourgeois democracy for 200 years. Many restrict the matter to the political sphere, but we must look at all spheres of society's life, work and decisionmaking. The political sphere is not even in the foreground when it comes to real affirmation and prospects for young people. Matters stand much worse in other spheres of labor and decisionmaking. And society's development needs are such that we cannot satisfy them in the near or remote future unless we accomplish a turnaround and achieve a favorable rejuvenation of the forces of social development!

That is what is involved.

Let us take the world of science, of university instruction, let us take those who staff development and preparatory services in physical production, supervisors in economic chambers, banks, all institutions of society which are

particularly sensitive. There is hardly any young person at the right place in those spheres.

Breaking down the hierarchy based on seniority and titles is therefore decisive both to young people and to society, and here we have to face the truth, from work organizations and the need for more young people to take up the right places in them according to their abilities and creativity, to the bodies where public decisions are made at the higher levels of social organization.

I am narrowing my topic just to this factor, but certainly we ought to speak also about remuneration according to work, and so on, which I will not enter into, it being a topic which is rather familiar to us.

Let me mention another key question concerning the social position and prospects of young people: jobs. We have to realize that we cannot have superfluous young people in our country. Yet society has begun to put a portion of young people in a position where even it is beginning to feel like a burden and interference instead of what it has been and must be in all civilizations and in all periods of history--that force to which the world is left.

Question Number One

There is no tangible linkage between the present and future worker, and this then aggravates the question of unemployment, taken along with the highly static nature of the bulk of those now employed and their low productivity.

As you know, in public opinion at large and also in the ranks of young people this is today felt to be the number one question, the most sensitive question for young people. But much erroneous information is being presented about unemployment. Our unemployment--as high as it is--is nevertheless specific, at least at two points (here I am following an idea of Vladimir Bakaric): it is above all a consequence of the changing composition of the population, and then of the emergence of a new generation which the existing resources of society are unable to employ appropriately. In other words, when the peasantry has fallen from 75 percent to 20 percent, then there was also a jump of the unemployed from 50,000 in 1952, when there were 2 million persons employed, to the present 900,000 unemployed, when there are 6.2 million persons employed, it is a consequence of the altered composition of society, but also a consequence of our excessively low labor productivity with the existing means of production, which cannot absorb the new generation with its education and its abilities. In other words, faster development and a rise of labor productivity are certainly the only way out.

Unemployed young people cannot be content, and this is the most difficult thing which a young man can experience. But we must realize that it is these factors, plus the fact that education has developed independently, which have contributed to the growth in the number of unemployed among young people. Out of the 900,000 persons unemployed in our country at this moment 300,000 people represent a real problem. These are those who in statistical terms have senior and junior postsecondary and secondary schooling or are registered as

highly skilled and skilled workers. All the rest of the unemployed manpower is unskilled or possibly semiskilled. Those other 500,000-600,000 include the surplus from agriculture or the result of dropouts from the system of education, which in elementary and early secondary school is throwing a relatively large number of young people onto the street without any sort of real ability. Among the 300,000 unemployed people with junior and senior postsecondary education and secondary education and those who are skilled and unskilled [sic] workers the largest group consists of those who have attended the academic high school (more than 50,000 in Yugoslavia as a whole). The academic high school has almost disappeared, but it is here that the university students have failed, and we always had an abundance of them! But I will not analyze all this in greater detail. Slovenia is today leading the world in its rate of employment, perhaps there is no country except where employment is entirely managed by the government, as it is in certain East European socialist countries, which has a lower unemployment rate than our own Slovenia. This means that in our context a relatively higher level of development eliminates unemployment.

But there is also something else here: our ears are being stuffed, even our ears are being terribly stuffed about how our rate of unemployment is among the highest in the world. They arrive at this from the rate of persons employed in the socialized sector, but they forget that our population censuses also indicate 3 million gainfully employed private farmers. In England, say, the farmers represent only 2 percent, and the rate of unemployment in that country is about 11 percent, although this is the country which first began capitalistic development. And they say that we have passed England in unemployment, which after all is not true, since we also need to count those 3 million of our private farmers and take into account the objective factors in the social composition and economic structure. (It is another matter that to a great extent we have pushed the private farmers out of the country's practical development, and now we have a food shortage or are having difficulties solving certain problems.) Consequently, I stress all this in order to emphasize that the problem lies in the fact that the skilled and trained young person is unemployed, and this has resulted on the one hand from the lack of concern by work organizations and communes to prevent a redundancy of young people and on the other from the old system of schooling which put obligations on people according to the criterion of "free" will and "free" needs.

Appeals Are a Poor Remedy

But I am not saying all this in order to detract from all the seriousness of unemployment in a portion of young people, but, on the contrary, so that I might call attention to its real dimensions and also to the fact that nothing can be achieved by shouting or by appeals. Yet hardly any of us is today drawing up real programs for new jobs, and I am referring primarily to organizations of associated labor and communes. What we have instead is a policy of pretense. And then not general programs, but programs of each factory and each commune. The organization of associated labor and the commune must indeed assume responsibility. Even here there are ideas now emerging about young people "taking over" some factory, establishing various cooperatives, people are also beginning to think about the social organization of the unemployed, of their becoming a force which will settle matters on its own.

I think that the Socialist Youth League can and must become very involved in this, but we must not harbor illusions that it can carry this on its own back; rather every OUR [organization of associated labor] would above all in the context of its own development open up new creative jobs, not just any jobs, primarily for young specialists. Yet today perhaps a third of the OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor] and work communities in Yugoslavia are not hiring anyone, since they are not developing, since they are selfish, since they are parasites living off the resources of society.

Over the last 10 years the number of jobs has increased by 2 million, and the number of unemployed by 500,000. And over the next 10 years, regardless of how we develop, whatever noose of foreign credit we have around our neck, we will quite certainly open up 1.5 million jobs. And perhaps the country will find it in a position of having a large number of unemployed and at the same time a large shortage of manpower in physical production, just as the capitalist West found itself in such a situation.

Finally, another question on which I will have something to say is the social organization and social life of young people. The conditions of the social life of young people, which we have spoken about even in a meeting of the Croatian LC Central Committee, are truly unfavorable, although young people get along fairly well in disco clubs, they see all kinds of films, they can put their hands on newspapers and magazines for light reading, they watch television, and so on. We have too few youth centers, we do not have space in which young people can spend their time and work. Even when we analyze, say, activities of "Narodna tehnika" [Popular Technology], it turns out that the question of who, for example, can be a patternmaker and who not is important to the family income, since this presupposes a fairly large material expenditure under present conditions. Class differences are manifested here just as in the case of music education and so on. So, the fight for the social life of young people would have to generate much more getting together in societies, organizations and clubs, and they can take on constructive subject matter as to upbringing, and that is one of the most neglected sectors of the battle for young people.

Our decisionmaking and organization have been exceedingly privatized and subjected to group-ownership attitudes not only in the economy, but still more in health care, education, culture, science and athletics. We do not have any full-fledged development of cultural and social getting together of young people in accordance with socialist ideological and esthetic programs. To this we should add, I might mention in passing, the ever greater domination of private capital and interest in the so-called free time of young people and in its consumption of so-called mass culture.

[19 Jul 83 p 5]

[Text] We are already familiar with countless public writings, comments, heated discussions, round tables concerning excessive behavior, whether it be nationalistic or some other sort--from Ivangrad via Svetozarevo to Split, or Subotica and Ljubljana, with the punk events which also have adverse political content, and so on.

Verbal outbursts which young people commit either by singing or by shouting or by statements they make or by writing slogans are appearing in an ever greater number of our educational institutions. And when you look at the figures, then at first they seem dramatic or they might be horrifying. In 1981 and 1982 303 slogans were written in 105 educational organizations or institutions in the Socialist Republic of Croatia (elementary schools, secondary schools, centers for schoolchildren and university students, university buildings, everything that qualifies as an institution for educating and bringing up the young), 113 swastikas were recorded and 21 hostile outbursts. (Of those 105 institutions, 15 were elementary schools.)

This is carrying over into this year as well, it is even being stepped up. Whether behind the writing of those 303 slogans, behind those 21 hostile demonstrations and 113 swastikas which were drawn there stand 100, 200, or 300 or 500 young people is not decisive. The essential thing is the atmosphere in which such individuals and groups are emerging. This is not even disturbing in terms of numbers, since compared, say, to the 55,000 young people who participated only in federal youth work projects this year, what do they amount to compared to the 750,000 young people who belong the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, people under age 27, although, let us not forget, there are also members of the League of Communists who are committing these outbursts. But, I repeat, it is a question of the atmosphere. We might say that these cases also include children's and young people's mischief, asocial behavior, but there are also cases of barbarism and primitivism. After all, how is one to explain that in several cases, and that in different schools in Croatia, swastikas were drawn by pupils in the second and third grades of elementary school. According to them, it could be a kind of game, but it is symptomatic that this "game" has reached all the way to them.

Poisoning the Vacuum

Little nationalistic ditties, indeed those of butchers, are written or sometimes even sung, and one must be more than horrified to think that a number of young people even this very day have such a poisoned and atavistic outlook.

This greatly disturbs us, but in essence it is a question of the most vulgar and primitive nationalism that is making inroads into the ranks of a segment of young people. And it is penetrating the vacuum left by the absence of authentic and sensible work with young people in certain schools and local communities, by the sluggishness and failure to react of our sociopolitical and organized socialist forces.

At the time of the rise of the "mass movement" in 1971 this kind of verbal nationalism was not given the most primitive and most shameless expression or utterance. Why? Because they had legal structures and for a time they were on the rise. This that we have now is among other things the result of being displaced, but also of a living nationalistic consciousness of the most primitive form. And when you look at who these young people are, often they are from families which were clerical-nationalistic or their fathers and grandfathers were on the other side at the time of the National Liberation Struggle. Certainly it would be a mistake to conclude from this that these young people

have been marked thereby. No one bears the sins of his fathers on his forehead, and we are from that kind of judgment. But there is something else which we have to conclude--that we have not fought for them to be shaped differently, either in the school or outside the school.

These young people live in or come from environments which have gone astray from patriarchal Catholic or indeed patriarchal Orthodox culture. Many families from our poor and underdeveloped villages have come within reach of the city, their children have filled the schools, and they have brought into them certain complexes and influences. For instance, a bitter fist fight took place at the technical school center in Zadar between a group of pupils from Bibinj and a group of pupils from Islam Grcki, and what was involved was nationalistic intolerance and fanaticism. You even have entire villages in which the youth organization has been taken over by young people with a nationalistic outlook, and that in the vacuum of our political activity, since our political forces are either not there at all or what they do is formal and conducted through forums, including the Socialist Youth League, but not leaving out the League of Communists either. In one village in the mountains inland from Sibenik the youth organization was taken over by a young cleronal nationalist, and he went to pay for a mass to be celebrated for "Croatian martyrs." Or, the priest in Slivno Ravno near Opuzen, who dictated the election of the youth leadership and decided who would run in the Youth Day relay.

You have, then, that activity on the part of the forces of Croatian and Serbian nationalism among young people, which leads to the writing of hostile slogans and symbols as well as to hostile public demonstrations, but the essence of the matter is that on the spot neither the teachers (indeed some of them, a small number to be sure, even of them have been operating from other positions), nor the Socialist Youth League, nor the League of Communists, nor sociopolitical organizations reacted or they always reacted late, and there was hardly any continuous effort made, no subtle work with young people, no real contact. So that even when flagrant outbursts occur, police treatment and police action are first and foremost. And when there is nothing more than that, then this actually helps you to get a certain number of young people who are real enemies or supposed heroes or martyrs, instead of our fighting for every young person unless the case is really hopeless.

Political Sermons

We have been especially confronted with the intensified offensive of cleronal nationalism. The Catholic Church kept in the rear and was reserved at the time of the "mass movement." Now forces have grown up in it which are linking up on a program of cleronal nationalism. An entire cleronal nationalistic platform has been worked out with the ambition of having the church play the role not only of protector of the faith and the faithful, but also of protector of the national interests of the Croat people and its culture and of interpreter of its history. And activity has become ramified along those lines, above all through mass religious meetings, but also through the organization of the upbringing and cultural, athletic and recreational life of young people.

Not only are sermons delivered in which even outright political accusations are made, but flags and seals are displayed without socialist features, they sing only "Lijepa nasa domovino" [Our Beautiful Homeland], but never accompanied by "Hej, slaveni" [Hey, Slavs], they sing songs with nationalistic content, and they also shout hostile slogans. Then you have ways of bringing people together, such as music groups, excursions, dances, talks, Catholic layman's talks, highly ramified publishing activity, and the gathering of young people together for various pilgrimages and trips. We ought to restrain from concluding that cleronalationalistic activity is characteristic of the entire Catholic Church, but recently this activity has been on the rise in its ranks, while at the same time we have not been conducting an appropriate effort, our activities ranging from inappropriate and sectarian reactions to the absence of any concern or effort and of any appropriate struggle against cleronalationalism on the spot.

Quasi-leftist gatherings are perhaps not so much on the rise among young people, but they are dangerous in that they count on points of support in those segments of our young people which are most intellectually competent, and they in turn widen the hotbeds further all the way to certain professors of Marxism in the secondary schools. The quasi-leftists have a large influence on a segment of the entire reproduction of journalism and scientific research, and they also manage to recruit their own young people in a number of university departments and programs of study. Even though it may be small, we are losing a very valuable number of young people for our policy and for behvior in the true spirit of socialism and on our basic program of socialist self-management. Once again we are losing because of the lack of effort on the spot.

And finally, we should also mention here the Cominform and bureaucratic-dogmatic forces, which often have been present even in the League of Communists itself.

Fruitless Rituals

We have to be realists and realize that there are people on the social scene who do not have a socialist past, nor indeed are they without undesirable burdens of an ideological and political nature. In Croatia, say, there are still 84,000 people living who were in hostile military formations or were outright collaborators of the occupier or members of hostile political organizations and groups in the period of World War II and after it. We also have 3,800 people with criminal convictions or administrative penalties for pro-Cominform behavior and activity. This does not mean that we ought to look on those people as on some homogeneous mass which is hostile, but undoubtedly there is a negative ideological-political legacy among them and it is also being conveyed to young people through family and local influence, through social grouping, through life in the settlement and neighborhood. And the point is--to repeat once again--the size of the vacuum we have left, our failure to fill it, our failure to fight even for that young person who has a different family up-bringing in the sense of political behavior.

Which is not to mention our ramified petit bourgeois world and its semicolonial mentality in its attitude toward the advanced consumer society of the West and the things associated with it.

We have not made the effort we should in bringing up young people, in organizing our forces. Some things we must above all interpret to young people so that they know our truth and not those other "truths." But interpret them not at the level of an apology for society and shallow political rhetoric. We need to explain to young people the years 1941 and 1948 and 1968 and 1971 in a really truthful way and with a really subtle approach.

But it is not just a matter of explanation, but of how we link young people to what we usually refer to as the achievements of the revolution, the passing on of revolutionary continuity, and so on. These are topics on which what we need is public discussion: a Youth Day relay, celebration of Youth Day, to what extent young people really feel something when rallies are held on certain occasions which were also the subject of rallies of the SKOJ generations of young people in a time which has passed.

With the young age groups, and I will just mention this, it is not a question of evoking feelings associated with what they have experienced, since they did not experience it or have not been experiencing it, but rather for them this is a history of which others remind them. We can bring up the present generation, children and young people, in a spirit of revolutionary continuity only if they experience all that is the revolutionary achievement and revolutionary tradition in the form of their own revolutionary commitment. If that is lacking, then under today's conditions mere and actually futile events do more harm than good. This is something we must realize once and for all and reassess certain things out in the open.

We do not need any cult to glorify the exploits of generations of precursors, but above all creation and affirmation of young people's own activity on the soil of revolutionary traditions. The main thing for young people is to work and live in the present time inspired by what they can add to the achievements of the revolution and the revolutionary tradition. Here mere rituals, ceremonies and events, isolated, in and of themselves, bear no fruit.

In the final analysis the achievements of the revolution also include our everyday life, which certainly has not been put away in a museum and has not been reduced to monuments and memoirs, but within it a struggle is being waged for new social relations and for socialist values.

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IDEAS OF TUZLA 'ANARCHOLIBERAL' GROUP ATTACKED

Sarajevo OSLOBODJENJE in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jul 83 p 3

[Article by Dzevad Tasic: "The Poison of "Avant-gardism"]

[Text] Avant-gardism in culture and art, or in creativity in general, is doubtlessly a necessary thing, and it is always a progressive factor if it is genuine. However, what is being passed off as avant-garde in our country today in some places is, in essence, a unique symbiosis of creative weakness and attempts to justify itself by seeking villains on the opposing side, primarily, it would seem, in the social milieu in which this creative weakness is demonstrated.

A striking example of this type of avant-gardism is to be found in the activity of a group of young intellectuals in Tuzla, of whom much has been seen and heard lately because some of its members are on trial.

The "Body and Space" Group

This is a group of intellectuals who have earned this designation by university degree, and not by the publishing of any confirmed or acknowledged literary work. Led by Milan Soklic, the group's ideals of freedom have been found outside the time and space in which this society has been developed. Judging by all indications, their model is the bourgeois parliamentary democracy, because they claim that "there is far more freedom of creativity and demonstration in the Western system of parliamentary democracy and the multi-party system," than in our country, where, they say, freedom of creativity in art and culture "is restricted because of the strong presence and influence of the political factor." But what they really want besides total anarchy is difficult to say.

Here, then are a few illustrations. They call the group "body and space" (almost poetically), and this name is supposed to symbolize their basic premise that "space is necessary for the body in view of the growing problems of civilization" and that because of this it is necessary to organize a society "without boundaries, shackles, or restraints--a society free in space."

This "society free in space" could in no way, of course, be one that is self-managed, or even socialistic. In order to let this be known immediately, without any ambiguities, they make their graphic symbol by transforming the socialist symbols--the hammer is turned into the letter "T" and the sickle into the letter "P". [T for tijelo "body" and P for prostor "space"]

This is only a detail which in the context of a large number of their other remarks and writings reveals that the strongest motive for "avant-garde activity in culture and art" is obviously to escape from those shackles and restraints which are visible only to them, or to put it another way, to destroy socialism and self-management. Of course, this has determined the "tactics" of their activity.

Using methods of political opposition activity which are by no means avant-garde, they have above all planned the creation of a legal, institutional form of assembly. Since they have declared themselves to be fighters "for freedom in art and culture," they think that this goal would be best served by a magazine which they themselves would publish, and which would become a "critical polygon" in which "there would be no topics about which we would not dare to write." On the contrary, the group, in initiatives dealing with starting this "critical polygon," discloses that it must provide conditions for "satisfying people's social and spiritual needs," for fighting against the shackles and restraints which are imposed upon art, because "everything is subject to the government censors," and "only pro-government people are prosperous."

"Gaining Freedom"

But this avant-garde group sees "gaining freedom" as a struggle against the lack of freedom of the press, which "is censored by the LCY," against the ideologically directed news reports with which the LCY influences people's awareness, while the group would like "complete freedom of thought and labor, independent of social norms."

According to their anarcholiberal ideas of "absolute freedom," Bosnia-Hercegovina is an obstacle which above all must be skipped over, because, supposedly, creative freedom is especially restricted and threatened in our republic, in whose "political structures there is a great amount of dogmatic consciousness," which is "the basic reason that Bosnia-Hercegovina has lagged behind in economic and social development."

Of course, all that has been constructed and is being built in the post-war period is not important to them, whta Bosnia-Hercegovina was like only 30-40 years ago, and what it is like today regarding material, cultural, and all other aspects. These "avant-gardists" were witnesses of these events, as they grew up and matured while they were taking place, but it is obvious that they intentionally do not wish to talk about it. "Something else" is important to them, and everything else is subordinated to this "something," even the obvious truth.

Accusations Against the LCY

Although they attempt to move the whole matter--its goals and intentions--into the rarefied air of theory, at any price, they and their avant-gardism remain vacuously earth-bound when in the context of all this "progressive thinking" they get involved with overt nationalism. What seems to bother them the most out of all the shackles, restraints, lack of freedoms and the dogmatic consciousness of Bosnia-Hercegovina, are Muslims! They (the Muslims) "make life difficult for the Serbs and Croats," they are an "artificial creation" "they have no sort of historical basis, nor any culture, or other values, by which they might be identified as a nation." These young "intellectuals" add gasoline to the fire by throwing out the saying that the Muslims "are now trying to take over Bosnia-Hercegovina and proclaim it a Muslim republic by spreading pan-Islamic ideas"!

With this type of statement, however, they reveal that their basic position is nationalism, and that they are using anarcholiberism as a cover-up, or as an acceptable way in which to implement this position.

But they will not talk about this.

This self-styled "intellectual avant-garde" directly and indisputably charges none other than the LCY for this cataclysmic (at least, according to their interpretation) state in our society.

The LCY, they say, has degenerated. The acceptance of the party line does not mean class determinism. On the contrary, the LCY "does not offer what it is supposed to offer," its ideas "are not the pure and correct ideas of Marxism," "only the overly ambitious and the careerists" belong to it, and it "is not able to act in accordance with working class interests because it is made up of the bourgeois and middle class," and because of this, "a lot of workers do not accept the policies of the LCY."

And they say this in Tuzla from the Tuzla point of view.

And they try to appeal to miners, salt-mine workers, energy technicians, they talk to the workers and their children and try to get them to believe in a pure fabrication which denies the blatant fact that of the more than 19,000 communists in this city over half are workers, or, if one wishes to be even more precise, there are 9,842 coal and salt miners, electricians, energy technicians, chemistry industry workers, and other workers--non-skilled, skilled, and highly skilled--in the party. In other words, the most direct of the direct producers. Is this the "bourgeois class" and can one make the claim that these people are all overly ambitious, those who are called careerists?

Judgement of the Anarcholiberals

But to complete the picture of this phony avant-garde, one must also present one more detail of the character and the moral and ideological dignity of this group, for the sake of truth and insight although we do this reluctantly for fear of irritating, and even offending the reader.

During the illness and death of Comrade Tito, when sincere anxiety was being shown for the life of a man to whom we all owe an immeasurable amount of what we are today, during the days when all of Yugoslavia was saying its last good-byes in a dignified and peaceful manner with tears and unconcealed grief, this handful of "avant-gardists" announced that they were disturbed by all of this because it "created a cult of personality." And this was just part of it! Before the grief and sorrow had been stilled they began to spread the story that money for the treatment of Comrade Tito "was spent mercilessly, which is one of the reasons for the difficult economic situation."

Whether all of this should be emphasized or not, there is no need whatsoever to explain why the working people of Tuzla have publicly condemned these nationalists, anarcholiberals, and phony avant-gardists in the most severe manner, and why the most notorious of the group have gone before the court.

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